

THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Eccliaistical Affairs.

THE RATIONALE OF DISENDOWMENT.

"CERTAINLY, as far as the suggestion goes that if such dangers were to arise, the Established Church would be overcome by them, I am not quite sure that anything much worse would be likely to happen to her under these circumstances than what the hon. member wishes to do to her now." These are the reported words of Sir Roundell Palmer. The reference they make is to that portion of the hon. member for Bradford's speech in the late debate, on the disestablishment of the Established Churches in Great Britain, which points out the peril that would probably overtake them in case of the possible outbreak of revolutionary excitement. We do not think it fair to the hon. and learned gentleman to charge him with all the meaning which is capable of being attached to words uttered in the heat of debate; but we do regard them as calling for special attention, taken as they stood in the speech from which we have extracted them. They would seem to imply that the main difference between the mover and the ablest opponent of the resolution, was a difference of money—that the Church of England could lose no more if dispossessed of her property by revolutionary fury, than if, by the calm judgment of the Legislature, her endowments (after the satisfaction of all life interests, after compensation for all personal losses, and after the reservation to her of that portion of her property which has been derived from private sources) were appropriated to secular purposes, in which the whole nation could share; that it would be as great a calamity to her and to the country, if the nation should resume her wealth, as if in the whirlwind of popular passion, the possessions she now enjoys should be ruthlessly confiscated; and that, at any rate, it would be folly for the Church to anticipate disestablishment, if only by a few years, in order to avert the possible dangers which might overtake her, were the work to be accomplished by parties who have no sympathy with her as "a religious society." We are bound to say that we listened to the argument with surprise, not unmingled with pain, considering the high quarter from which it came. It appeared to imply that very little importance attached to the manner of doing the thing, if the thing were to be done at all. It was a sudden descent from the high ground which the hon. and learned gentleman occupied

throughout the previous portion of his speech. We feel it incumbent on us, therefore, to make a few remarks upon the question of disestablishment generally, in its application to the Church of England.

The question of disestablishment almost inseparably connects itself with that of disestablishment. No statesman in this country would think of proposing to release the Church from the control of public law, and allow her at the same time to retain possession of National property now at her disposal. Such a proposition would be scouted, and justly so, by both Houses of Parliament. The question, therefore, turns upon the propriety of divesting the Established Church of her political status. No doubt, the opponents of Mr. Miall's resolution generally regard disestablishment as an evil, but most of them substantially give up the case by confessing that if the Establishment were to be determined upon now, for the first time, it would probably be condemned by the general opinion of the public. There must be, therefore, something essentially unsound in the institution, which cannot abide the test of reason or religion. And this unsoundness, which we take to be tacitly admitted on all hands, at least so far as the debate was concerned, furnishes the strongest possible reason for the anticipation that the system cannot be destined to perpetuity. If it is contrary to the dictates of justice, as we maintain, and as no speaker ventured to deny, it carries within itself the seeds of its own downfall, and its continuance becomes merely a question of time. In a community like ours, equal justice to every portion of the community, will be sure to work itself out in practical results, and if disestablishment is the price which the Church will have to pay for disestablishment, it too may be fairly counted upon as an inevitable event.

The question, therefore, returns, whether, we do not say the Established Church only, but the religious influence of all the Churches, established and non-established, would be likely to be affected more or less favourably or unfavourably, by the manner and spirit in which disestablishment should be carried out. It might be conceived, for instance, that the religious society now in connection with the State, should rise to such a height of faith in her own divine mission, and of reliance upon the spiritual powers which she is capable of wielding, as to estimate very lightly the fixed provisions which have been made by law for her temporal maintenance, and should profess her willingness to resign every advantage of that kind which she enjoys, that, in common repute, is tainted by injustice. No man, we think, who values the high character of the Church as an institution for extending the blessings of the Gospel to the whole community, would regard such a consummation as this as a calamity equivalent to the confiscation of her wealth by popular clamour. Her voluntary surrender of worldly advantages, for the sake of her own religious influence, would give new power to her as a spiritual institution, and would illustrate most significantly the reality of her pretensions as an exponent and an exemplar of the principles of "a kingdom not of this world"—and whilst the Church would gain by this voluntary abdication of a supremacy which is unsuited to her character, religion all over the country, and we may even say the world, would draw new life and assurance from a noble dis-

play of faith, and trust, and unselfishness, on so grand a scale.

Dismissing this supposition as unlikely to be realised, let us look at a more probable hypothesis. It is not altogether beyond hope that the most earnest of the Christianity of our times, whether within or without the Established Church, may come to regard the law of maintaining religious institutions, most in accordance with the genius of the Gospel of love, as greatly superior to that law which our forefathers in their mis-appreciation of the inherent vitality of Christian truth, deemed it incumbent upon them to adopt. The principle of endowments is founded upon an utter distrust of the unfailing fruitfulness of Christian liberality. The construction by one generation of a reservoir of temporal supply in every parish, with a view to render the Church independent of those springs of generosity which become more copious in proportion as they are drawn upon, has done much towards the development of those external causes which prevent the natural, regular, and copious outflow which, under a wiser system, such springs would have yielded. In the course of less than a generation what the Church really requires in the nature of temporal provision would be furnished her more abundantly from living sources than from artificial depositories, and each generation may be expected to grow more interested in Church work in proportion as each is left face to face with its own responsibilities. Disestablishment carried out in this spirit would, undoubtedly, be accompanied or followed by moral influences vastly superior to any which would be associated with a merely political or economical revolution, in which the future of the Church, as a spiritual society, would be wholly uncared for. It is not we repeat, a mere money question which is at stake, but it is the character of the Church which may be gained or lost by the manner in which she may meet the process of disestablishment.

As calmly imposed upon her by a sense of justice, disestablishment might, it is true, take from her as much property as she might lose by Revolution; but it would at least leave her, if she were so minded, a rich inheritance of spiritual virtue and reputation which would exercise a potent and beneficial influence over her future career as a religious society.

A FREE EPISCOPALIAN CHURCH AT WORK.

We have, we believe, never done injustice, even in our thoughts, to the capability of Episcopalians for self-government. We have, indeed, had a suspicion that, unused and untrained although they might be to the work, they would prove to be almost more capable of it than some voluntary communities. The operations of law have afforded to them facilities for intellectual culture such as no other ecclesiastical sect has enjoyed. What could be made of men in this direction has been made of them. They have had the field all to themselves. They have been made, and purposely made, an intellectual as well as social aristocracy. The State has offered exclusive honours, exclusive wealth, and exclusive position, to them. It has used all the power that it could wield in their behalf. It ought to have been expected, therefore, that when we should see Episcopalians meeting together to discuss various questions relating to the government of their own Church, we should see a model Synod. We have scarcely, perhaps, seen that, but we have seen that they are as capable

of government as any other class in the community. The Free Episcopalian Irish Church Synod has proved this beyond all doubt and all cavil.

This Synod has had an extremely difficult work to do. It is a large body composed of men of all shades of opinions, who have grown up under certain laws, who have always been using the same forms, have always been subjected to the same restrictions, and have never, until lately, dreamed of being placed in any other but their old position. They are, more or less suddenly, released from their old moorings. They are told that, in place of being legislated for, they can now legislate for themselves; that they can change doctrines, rituals, forms, ceremonies, and do anything and everything—give full, free, and honest expression to their own thoughts, and embody those thoughts in suitable laws and regulations. Such new circumstances have sometimes, and very naturally, developed license and disorder; but they have had no such effect upon the Irish Episcopalian Church. The men composing this communion have risen to the height of their duty, and have shown by the tone of their discussions, by their self-restraint, and by the nature of their decisions, that they are capable of a great and enduring labour. They have gone through, already, the most difficult work connected with reconstruction, and have performed it in an admirable spirit and with admirable effect.

It seemed, soon after the Synod met, that it would split upon the rock of Ritualism. The whole tendency of the Episcopalian Church in Ireland has been against anything like conformity to Roman Catholic usages. The Church, whatever may have been its faults, has always been Protestant. But a committee was appointed, early in the proceedings, for the revision of the Prayer-book, and as the result of its deliberations, one of the first questions brought before the Synod was the alteration of the Church Catechism. The question occurs in the Catechism, "How are the Body and Blood of Christ taken and received in the Lord's Supper?" In order to shut out anything like Ritualistic or Romanistic doctrine the committee recommended that the answer should be, "Only after a heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby they are taken and received is faith." Upon this there very naturally arose a discussion upon Ritualism, and an amendment was moved against any unnecessary alterations. The subject was debated with great spirit and great earnestness, and the amendment was negatived. But the resolution was also negatived, although 272 of the laity voted for it, and only 35 against it. A majority of the clergy, 117 to 77, was also in its favour, but not the necessary majority of two-thirds, and so the resolution was lost. This was the first critical occasion upon which what may be termed the distinctively Protestant and anti-priestly element in the Synod was tested, and the result shows, with adequate sufficiency, that whatever may be the case elsewhere, the Irish Episcopalian Church will be a Protestant one. The laity will, and must, eventually rule, and the laity now declare themselves to be opposed to all priestly claims and innovations.

But the matter came up again. The Revision Committee reported in favour of an addition to what is termed the "Black Rubric," so as to shut out anything like an approach to Romish doctrine upon the question of the Sacrament. The proposed addition was in the following words:—"And whereas the intention of the preceding declaration hath been in modern times misconstrued or evaded, the Church of Ireland doth hereby declare that no adoration whatever is to be done to any presence of Christ or of Christ's flesh and blood, supposed to be in the elements after or by virtue of their consecration." In this proposition the great question of Transubstantiation was fairly raised for an immediate and decisive decision. But so important was it, that it was felt necessary, after one debate, to postpone it, and the result was an agreement to take into consideration the whole question of revision, and report upon it to the next Synod. A Special Committee, including all the Bishops, has been appointed with this view. It is mainly a clerical committee, but with the tremendous weight of lay power behind it in favour of radical revision in the Protestant direction, the Committee is not likely to shirk its work, or to attempt a dishonest compromise. The Prayer-book will be revised, and revised on the Evangelical pattern.

But although the Services, Catechism, etc., were left over, the Synod went heartily to work at the Canons. We have all a pretty intimate acquaintance with these disgraceful relics of the most intolerant age in the history of England. The Canons are enough to unchristianise any Church that does not disown them. Cruel and persecuting, the word-emblems of hate and disorder, they have always and unutterably degraded

the Church which invented and has retained them. They are still a part of the law of our English State-Church, and no effort has ever induced Convocation to get rid of, or even to express its disapprobation of them. But the Free Episcopalian Church in Ireland has thrown them overboard, cast them out, and made others in rather better harmony with what should be the rules of a Christian Church. It has adopted, as nearly as we can reckon, some thirty Canons, to some of which we might naturally enough entertain an individual objection, but which, on the whole, are worthy of the administrative work of a great religious body. They contain a good deal of common sense, and, on the whole, we think will be found to work well. For the most part they deal with matters of discipline and order, and deal with them so reasonably, that we can hardly imagine any Episcopalian minister objecting to them.

Well, the Synod has provided for Prayer-book revision with a distinct bias against Ritualism, and it has made a new set of Canons. It has also undertaken cathedral reform; made regulations concerning episcopal vacancies; has seen, we believe, its way towards the solution of money difficulties; and, in fact, nearly reconstructed the Church in harmony equally with the feelings of its own members and the spirit of the times. The bugbear of divisions and parties has not touched it. It has Broad, High, and Low Churchmen, but they all work together. It has, so far, solved the practicability of Free Episcopalianism. It will apparently have, in its future, nothing of which to be ashamed. Its history is slowly departing from it, and will by-and-by be forgotten. Is there nothing in all this for English Episcopalians to envy?

ECCLIASTICAL NOTES.

THE Bishop of Manchester, who was present in the House of Commons on the 9th inst., has added another to his numerous speeches upon disestablishment. As the Bishop is one of the most liberal-minded men in the Church, it is of interest to notice the line which he takes upon this question. He first of all—following Mr. Disraeli—congratulated Englishmen that they were not at the mercy of abstract ideas. He then followed Mr. Disraeli into France; after which he argued that the Church was really doing a work, and a work that no other body could perform with anything like the same efficiency and universality. He next vindicated the condition of the rural parishes, and maintained that the Church was the "chief means of diffusing light, and culture, and spiritual influence in every home and in every hamlet in England." And he also maintained that the Church was improving. It had more spiritual life than it used to have. The laity, also, were taking their proper places. Then he remarked upon the parochial duty of clergymen, and concluded by saying that:—

If they could only tide over the present storm, if they could only be a little united amongst themselves, if they would not push their own individual opinions to such extravagant ends, if they would only be a little more discreet in their language, and a little more anxious not to obtrude individual differences, and not be continually bringing up points of argument, he believed that there was a future in store for the Church of England as the great instrument for Christianising and civilising in the purest sense of the word the people of England. There was a future lying before her, by the side of which her past historical glories—and they were glories—almost seemed to melt and fall into insignificance. Wherever they saw opportunity for good, it was for the Church to go boldly in and occupy the ground. She could do it, too, without occupying ground belonging to any other denomination. By keeping themselves strictly and loyally within those broad views—because they were broad—which the Church of England allowed her children, by recognising, at the same time that they claimed their freedom, the laws imposed upon that freedom, by not exaggerating into undue importance things that were in themselves "trifles light as air," he thought they might hope to tone down differences, and to mitigate controversies, and to realise more and more the true spirit of religion. He did not believe that the people of England wanted to get rid of their old Established Church. He saw it reported at one of the preliminary meetings of the Liberation Society, before the measure was brought into the House, that Mr. Miall, or some other speaker, speaking of the movement, said it was quite true that the working classes were not very hot agitators of society, and that they required to be agitated up to the mark. No doubt agitation would do, and had done, a great deal in England; but he did not think that agitation would ever succeed in alienating the hearts of the people of England from any institution in Church or State which could prove its right and title to a hold in their affection by virtue of the work it had done.

There are a great many "ifs" in the first of these sentences, but apart altogether from all such "ifs," it is rather melancholy to notice that the Bishop is clearly of opinion that the Episcopalian Church has not spirituality, vitality, or force enough to do its work, as other denominations do, without State-aid. The Bishop should know whether this be the case or not, but, for ourselves, we have a higher

appreciation of Episcopalians than he appears to possess.

It is increasingly evident that the main line of defence as regards the religious work of the Established Church will be taken on the necessity of some provision being made for the rural districts. This was referred to more than once in the debate on the 9th inst., and has since been very considerably enlarged upon. The question is very moderately put in a letter of the Hon. H. Cowper to a constituent as follows:—

Without reference to the towns, with which I am less concerned, and where I can easily understand provision could be made to meet any emergency which might arise, I will at once say that I believe disestablishment would inflict great injury upon the rural districts where the Church of England clergyman is often the one resident minister in the place, where he is generally the centre of local charity, and where he is often the chief—sometimes the sole—witness to the higher and more hopeful life to which I suppose we all wish ourselves and our poor to be raised.

I do not in the least wish to exalt the character of the ministers of the Establishment over that of ministers of other denominations, but it is a fact that many of these denominations are not rich enough to maintain a resident minister in villages, not only where some members only of their communion are to be found, but even where they have been able to erect places of worship for them; and in these districts if you take away the clergyman you take away a man who for various good purposes (recognised as such by all of us of whatever denomination) stands alone in the parish, and whom it would be extremely difficult to replace.

Large owners, who are generally Churchmen, would naturally come to the relief of their communion, but there are many places where there are no large owners, and where the richest man in the parish could give but little help.

I don't say that these injuries would be irremediable, or that the time may not come when the infliction of them and the counteraction of them must be boldly considered, but the consideration of them is to me so grave, that I will not enter lightly upon it, or at the bidding of the first person who chooses to raise the question in the House of Commons.

There can be no necessity for saying that this argument—very plausible, and to many sincere minds very convincing—will have to be met. Of course, there is no difficulty in meeting it to our own satisfaction; but what may satisfy us may not satisfy statesmen like Sir Roundell Palmer, or politicians like Mr. Cowper.

The great Bradford petition against disestablishment has exploded. Its presentation was a very good piece of theatrical display, but anyone in the House who knew Bradford, knew also that the terms of the petition, as stated by Mr. Hardy, could not be true. That right honourable and zealous, and, we must add, high-minded member, was very grievously misled. Our readers will find in another column, accounts of this petition which we believe to be entirely truthful. The facts they disclose are exactly what we should have imagined. The utmost pressure would not induce a fourth of the real ratepayers of Bradford to declare themselves, in this manner, against disestablishment. And, it should be remarked, Bradford is a fair representative of the great and intelligent town-constituencies,—ahead it may be, as ahead it is, but still representative.

Dr. Vance Smith, whose name scholars have long known, but who did not become generally prominent until the "Westminster Scandal" occurred, delivered a speech at Birmingham last week, in which he referred to many subjects, but especially to that of the Separation of Church and State. Dr. Smith has unquestionably great influence in his own denomination, but the tendency of his opinion is the general tendency of Unitarian opinion upon this question. He thinks that the people of England ought to be united in the Church; he does not like sectarian divisions; he is of opinion that Trinitarians and Unitarians might agree upon "the same great principles," and upon those principles form a great Church of England. He thinks that this would be better than separation of the Church from the State; but, at the same time, he would get rid, in the new Church, of all dictation from the State. Dr. Smith said upon this point:—

The State has no right, and ought not to attempt, to dictate theologically to the Church, but allow liberty to all members to profess what they think to be true. You may have that liberty: you may have nevertheless a national Church; and I believe not only so, but you may also retain for the Church's use the existing Church property. And why not? We want it; we have our churches to support, repairs, heating, lighting, the education of ministers, and things of that kind. Why should it not all be done on some common, economical principle? Why should not some great English Church exist, with liberty of thought and expression, founded on some great, common basis? That seems to be better than separation, and than the secularisation of this property, which has come from our forefathers, devoted to religious uses. If you allow the Church of England as it is to go—"disestablish" it as it is called—you must give it a very large piece of this national property. What does it mean? It means setting up the Church as a great sect, endowed with national funds and released from national control. That is not what we want; that is not religious equality. We, as Dissenters, would be excluded from our fair share in this national property,

which will be given to a sect, and that is what disestablishment comes to. Let us all have our share, let us still use this property for religious purposes, and let us all stand on equal ground before the law and before the nation, in one common Church. This I venture to say—this union of men of different parties in the work of revision will rather favour this view than the contrary. So far I must say that I dissent from the remarks of Mr. Jones. I know that we have friends of the Liberation Society present, and I do not wish to say too much. I go with that Society in some respects, in so far as it is opposed to the existing system, which must be put an end to; and if it cannot be put an end to by our having a great and comprehensive Church of England into which we can all enter, then I say it must be disestablished according to the plan of the Liberation Society, or some other plan. Things cannot go on as they are. Evidently we have no religious equality in the nation. It is a mere farce to speak of religious equality as things exist at present; with all the national property in the hands of one section, and all the rest of the nation left to do what it can for itself. If we cannot get religious equality in the way I would recommend, then let us have it in some other way. I am afraid whatever we do we shall set up either one or several great sects, and endow them out of the national property. That is the very worst way of proceeding.

Mr. Crosskey gave an admirable reply to this speech, but it is an expression, we believe, of the general opinion of Unitarians.

The Bishop of London has given a mild intimation of the manner in which he proposes to treat his clergymen when they break the law. The "Pur-chas" case has at last come before him, and he deals with it well. He considers himself to stand in the position of a magistrate, and expresses his surprise at the expression in the memorial of the 4,700 clergymen, that the bishops will abstain from acting upon it. Whence, he very rightly asks, have the bishops this option? He then exhorts the clergy, in earnest language, and Christian love, to obey what has been declared to be the law, adding that he at least is bound, both in law and conscience, by the recent decisions, which also approve themselves to his own judgment as correct interpretations of the law of the Church. He adds, with reference to those who may not be disposed to obey:—

They may precipitate a struggle at the same time between various sections of the Church and between the Church and the State; and they may hasten—possibly they may court—a disruption, which, instead of realising the tempting, but most impossible, ideal of a disestablished but not disendowed Church, strong in its freedom and rich in its possessions, must issue in two or three severed and hostile Churches, cursed, perhaps, with liberty to vary each its own creed and formularies, but disendowed as well as disestablished; or if in any degree endowed, subject, exactly in that degree, to have their formularies and creeds examined, interpreted, and adjudicated on in the Civil Courts of Law. What then should we have gained? What should we not have lost?

This is rather—is it not?—Episcopal. What will have been gained? Suppose only honour and truthfulness have been gained, would they not be something?

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND NONCONFORMISTS.

(From the Freeman.)

In the debate on Mr. Miall's motion last week it was inevitable that some notice should be taken of the relations existing between the Liberal party, and especially the Liberal Government, and Nonconformists. Although the disestablishment of the Church is a question that can be successfully fought on purely national grounds, and is in accordance with the wisest and most beneficent legislation of the present century, it is evident that Nonconformists must take the lead in the struggle, and bear throughout the heaviest share of the burden. Hence the tendency to regard it, not as a national, but as a Nonconformist and even a sectarian question. It cannot be expected—in the present state of things at any rate—that "a Cabinet of Churchmen" should take it up with enthusiasm. The "official mind" is proverbially, perhaps necessarily, tardy, and seldom moves unless the right and the good are sanctioned by the suffrages of the people, and therefore expedient. But while we cannot, at this early stage of the campaign, look for the direct approval and assistance of the Government, we are bound to make known our determination to complete the undertaking at all costs, and if the Liberal party will not move along with us, the Liberal party and we must, as Mr. Dale said the other week, have done with each other. Mr. Gladstone is himself conscious, not only of the divergence which exists between the Government and a large number of its most influential supporters, but also of the danger with which it is fraught. He clearly sees that the discontent of the Nonconformists "may have the effect of relieving him at a very early date from the responsibilities of office," and admits that it is in their power to "shatter at any time, if they think fit, the general fabric of the Liberal party." It is well, both for the Government and ourselves, to have this fact so distinctly and emphatically acknowledged. That it is a fact, no one acquainted with our large towns will, we think, be disposed to deny, and we know that in many places the recent conduct of the Government has fostered a disposition to give, at the earliest opportunity, a practical demonstration of the fact. For ourselves, we should deeply regret

the severance, and earnestly hope it will not take place. But it can be averted only by the Government refusing to worship at the shrine of the "god Terminus," and acting in relation to this great question in a truly liberal and progressive spirit. Mr. Gladstone appears to think that though we have the power, it would be unworthy of us to use it, and asserts that such a consideration should not be the governing motive in their minds. The governing motive it certainly should not and need not be, but it may, nevertheless, be an important subsidiary motive. Let it be allowed that the paramount consideration is that of right, and that no measure should be initiated or sanctioned by a Government of whose integrity its members are not thoroughly convinced. But are we therefore not warranted in using every legitimate method to accomplish our views of right, and to bring "the powers that be" to the same mind, especially when we believe that the carrying out of our principles would confer an incalculable good on the nation at large? The best Governments often need a little "gentle pressure," and we should not be over-scrupulous in applying it. Nor is this a case in which the measure for which we desire their sanction is antagonistic to their own principles. The disestablishment of the English Church is a matter that necessarily follows from the political principles which Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have emphatically recognised as their "governing motives," and which, in truth, they were sent to the Treasury Bench to sustain and extend. Neither he nor any other member of the Government has endeavoured to refute Mr. Miall's position on the ground of its intrinsic merits. All that we do, therefore, is to ask the Premier to be faithful to his own principles, and to carry them out to their legitimate conclusion. We demand him to give the matter his most earnest and unprejudiced consideration, to rise above all ideas of mere policy, and to declare what we think he cannot long refuse to see, that the present connection of the Church and State cannot (if we are to have thorough religious equality) be rightfully maintained.

(From the Sheffield Independent.)

A speaker at the late Triennial Conference of the Liberation Society dropped the remark that Nonconformity was the backbone of Liberalism. We believe this to be a fact, and not only so, but that it is a fact whose underlying significance is only just now beginning to dawn upon many people's minds. The Tories long ago found out that it was one of the hardest facts they encountered in political life, but they never understood its real meaning, and do not now. This is not surprising with reference to what has been called the "stupid" party, but there are numbers of men even in the Liberal ranks who have not yet fully apprehended all that the fact implies, and it is with them more especially that we have a word to say. Is it or is it not true, as Mr. Leatham told the House of Commons last week, and as Mr. Gladstone avowed, that it is from the great Nonconformist body throughout the country that that momentum came which has carried the Liberal party over so many obstacles? We aver that it is. Is Mr. Leatham's belief well founded that it is from the same element in our national life that the momentum will come which in a future not distant is destined to carry the same party over obstacles higher, broader, and more obstinate, than it has encountered in the past? To our mind his belief is thoroughly justified. What English Nonconformity has been struggling for during these two centuries past, consciously or unconsciously, has been to assert the inherent right of the human intellect to the most absolute freedom and the most perfect development of its capacities and powers, and to attain the practical realisation, in fullest completeness, of political, social, and moral justice as between man and man. It has happened that a State Church stood in the way as the chief opponent to the assertion of these rights, but this was a mere accident of the strife. The spirit which animated English Nonconformity would have confronted any other opponent or obstacle with equally unflinching sternness, persistency, and energy. What this spirit incessantly combats, and will ever combat, is whatsoever enslaves, oppresses, or degrades human nature, whether it take the form of an ecclesiastical or political institution, of tyranny represented in the person of a sovereign, or of brute force embodied in hosts of armed men. English Nonconformity will one day (and the sooner the better) cease to be, because there will no longer exist the overshadowing Establishment which has necessitated our capitalising the initial letter of the word, but we fervently trust that the spirit which has animated it will never cease to vitalise the national life of England. This is the spirit which the Liberal party of the present and the future must learn to breathe, or it will become, as a party, much sooner than some of its members have been thinking about, a feeble, pulseless, attenuated organisation.

The ranks of the Liberal party are largely recruited by adherents who flock thither from the impulse of generous feeling, from the influence of hereditary association or tradition, or from enlightened conceptions of patriotism; and such men have made capital rank-and-file, and excellent leaders too, in such conflicts as have constituted the history of the past. They have fought nobly and faithfully, and the younger generation of to-day is gratefully reaping the fruits of their victories. But we cannot be blind to the fact that the political

questions of to-day and the near future will apply a finer and keener test to men's principles than has happened in the past. When we shall have fought and won all our battles for political justice, then must we prepare ourselves to meet the demands of social and moral justice, and they who lead us in conflicting with the opponents of these demands must needs be men who clearly discern all the moral forces which are playing about them, and who with subtle power can direct these forces to the achievement of noble and mighty ends. There are men who are utterly oblivious of such forces, who do not understand what you mean when you talk about them. Mr. Roebuck showed himself to belong to this class when he once defined moral force as only the fear of physical force. Men of this class will be utterly unfit for any leading part in the English politics of the future, because they have neither inclination or ability to discuss questions which rest chiefly on moral grounds, and cannot be debated as mere matters of political expediency. Two such questions which are just now under consideration may serve to illustrate our remark—the proposed disestablishment of the State Church, and the demand for Parliamentary vote for women on the same conditions as men. Nobody pretends that the refusal to concede either of these demands constitutes a practical grievance or hardship of a very serious character, and politicians who are guided merely by expediency dally and pelter with them, in the belief that, like tired children, the agitators will soon drop off to sleep. Such men do not take into account the inherent nature and irrepressible energies of the human soul, its eternal demand to have its divinely created nature respected, its revolt against even theoretical injustice. They call religion cant, earnestness they call fanaticism, and to their purblind vision the development of energy looks like the seething of envy or discontent; the demand for justice they put off on the ground that it is ill-timed and inconvenient, and the asserters of abstract rights they characterise as cantankerous and vulgar. Whether they are aware of it or not, men who talk—or think, if they do not talk—in this strain, are affected with political dry rot, and politicians of sounder principles than they are needed to lead the Liberal party through the conflicts of the future. We do not just now give these remarks a particular or personal application, but recent events have shown that the hint they embody may be usefully pondered by a Cabinet of Churchmen, and by weak-kneed and faltering Liberals everywhere. These may take our word for it that the advanced guard of the true Liberal party is to be found now, as it has been any time these two hundred years past, chiefly (we do not say wholly) in the ranks of Nonconformity, and that those who cannot follow whither such men lead, are not the politicians whom the England of to-day will largely trust and honour.

(From the Sussex [Tory] Express.)

The great question is, What will become of the 140 Liberals who were absent from the division on Mr. Miall's motion? Probably more than half of them were willing to support Mr. Gladstone, but were prevented from doing so by their position. Their constituencies include a section of active political Dissenters. They have to meet a Conservative opposition, which numbers in its ranks almost every staunch friend of the Church in the borough. The Liberal member is returned by a narrow majority. He will, in all probability, not gain a Conservative vote by declaring against Mr. Miall. The Churchmen on the Liberal side—we are speaking of boroughs—are perhaps not so zealous as to lead them to throw their representative overboard, should he join in the attack on the Church. Of course, to the general rule there are exceptions; but in most boroughs the more zealous Churchmen are united in support of the Conservative candidate, and the less zealous section, who go with the Liberals, will not, we fear, be led even by a direct vote in favour of disestablishment, to throw over their previous favourites. At all events, that is the section who, if they are driven to it, have no very strong opinion of their own, and wish to retain their seats they must run the risk of losing; for it is quite clear that from the month of May last, the war-cry of the political Dissenters will be "Ecclesia delenda est." To alienate this body, for which Mr. Leatham claims that it gives the momentum to the "Cabinet of Churchmen," would be fatal to a Liberal candidate in any constituency at present tolerably balanced. As yet, however, all this is mere theory. The cry of "The Church in Danger" has never yet been met by the counter watch-word, "Down with the Church." No one has yet fairly canvassed a constituency and been placed under pressure by both sides on this absorbing question, destined from this 9th of May to become the great battle-field on which political contests will be fought. It will be so because it will influence more votes than any other,—aye, than all the others, be they what they may. Now, as we have put it, the Liberal member who can make up his own mind to pull down the Church can do so without much danger of losing his seat. Even on the broad scale, however, that would be more than we should like to vouch for; and as applied to particular constituencies, it is a question which we should, indeed, shrink from answering. Every one must admit that there are in every borough Churchmen voting on the Liberal side, as ready and as earnest in their support of Church institutions, and as sincerely attached to the Church's faith and services, as any of those on the Conservative side. That these gentlemen will be inclined to submit to the confiscation of the in-

comes of their own clergy may well be doubted; and we are not, therefore, surprised to find that, pressed on one side by the political Dissenters, and on the other by the religious Churchmen, 140 Liberals have shrunk from giving an opinion on the coming question of the day. But, henceforth, it will be heard on every borough hustings in England. Gradually the Liberals will yield to their extreme section, the last to go over being their county members. That will be the end of it, at least, if things are left to drift. That is the doom of the 140 who are now watching events; by no means anxious, we fancy, to destroy the Church, but not by any means prepared to sacrifice themselves in its defence, especially as they would afterwards, when less scrupulous members got their seats, hear their leaders, Messrs. Gladstone and Bruce, declaring that the time had come when the question of the Church must be settled. It is quite clear to us, that if the Church is to be saved, it must be by the rescue of these 140 Liberals from their unhappy position. The Church is to-day, or will be to-morrow, the great question dividing parties in England. It will be the true test between Conservatives and destructives. But if the former are to fight their battle, divided into two political sections; if a Liberal Prime Minister is to bring a constantly decreasing party of Liberals to the division, to co-operate with the Conservatives, the end of that state of things will be that some fine day, perhaps when out of office, the Liberal Minister will make a grand dash forwards, and declare that he and his friends have become convinced that the Church of England is all that we heard last year, for the first time, the Church in Ireland was.

We may, as the *John Bull* tells us, "raise the flag of the Church and State, and leave no stone unturned in every large town to return good men and true." What would be the result of this? The gain of a certain number of seats, we believe assured at the next election, but there would be another result of this course. We claim half of the 140 Liberal absentees as naturally inclined to support the Church; but we may rely upon it that the more and the harder they were pressed in the boroughs by the Church and State cry, the more they would be driven into throwing in their lot with Mr. Miall. We might gain some seats, but we should alienate many who might be our friends. There is no reason whatever why these 140 Liberals should be driven into Mr. Miall's ranks. And don't let it be forgotten if that is the end of it, they will take with them no small number of voters totally opposed to the overthrow of the Church. There are very few candidates who have not a personal as well as a political following, and the former the candidate carries with him, let him do what he will. Now, cannot these moderate Liberals be saved from their doom by the exertion of a little common sense? Is Mr. Gladstone really so delighted with his present allies, as to render him supremely desirous of next year going through such a session as the last? The courtesies of Mr. Vernon Harcourt and of Mr. Leatham must still be in his recollection. For half his measures he has to lean on the right. Is he not constantly taunted with the fact that the Education Bill was passed by Conservative votes? This session he rests on that party for the defence of the Church. In short, it would be idle to pretend that the moderate Liberals and the Conservatives are not much nearer together than the former and their ultra allies. If there is to be a Cabinet formed, having a real majority, and resting on an honest basis of principle, it is from those two sections that it is to be obtained. If the Church is to be preserved, not for a moment only, but for the next century, it must be by combining in its defence all those who are really in its favour. The game of Whigs and Tories is an anachronism. The former are constantly driven by their Radical allies into measures which they more than dislike. Sometimes to save their places, sometimes to save their seats, sometimes to rally that monstrous sham, "the united Liberal party" under one banner—in one way or another the moderate Liberals are dragged, as Mr. Leatham tells them, they will be on this great question of the Church, to do the bidding of the ultras. Nor do we, when we say this, mean to charge the Liberals with that utter destitution of principle which such charges would at first sight involve. No man who has ever been a good partisan can refuse to admit that it is not always possible when the voice of party calls loudly one way, to pay due heed to the faint whisper, that the true road lies in quite a different direction; and if the moderate Liberals have yielded much they must often regret, it has been done in the heat of conflict, or perhaps in the bitterness of defeat. The time has now come for the moderate men to band themselves together. If, indeed, we are to go on with three parties, let the Liberals who are inclined to support the Church, make up their minds at once to abandon the Cabinet which, under Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bruce, must inevitably betray it; not that they mean to do so, but because it is in the very nature of things that they must do so.

THE PRESS ON MR. MIALI'S MOTION.

The *Guardian* characterises Mr. Miall's speech as a signal example of Dissenting exaggeration, Dissenting narrowness of view, and Dissenting shortness of thought and inability to comprehend the higher aspects of a great religious and national question. For those who are attacking, on grounds which are really out of date and belong to a past age,

a Church which is far more in harmony with modern ideas and able to meet modern wants, than a sectarianism which clings to watchwords and complaints which are obsolete and without meaning, there is very little encouragement to be found in the character of the debate, in the opinion of the House of Commons, or in the impression which the discussion has left on the public mind. People are learning that the intolerance of which the Dissenters once so bitterly complained, and which in words everybody now repudiates, is rapidly becoming fixed among them as a characteristic feature of their policy and temper.

The *Church Times* (Ritualist) writes:—"We are not in the least afraid of disestablishment. The manner in which the Catholic school have been treated has rendered the maintenance of the Church's endowments well-nigh no concern of ours. Indeed, we should have much every way to gain from disestablishment; but that is no reason why we should ally ourselves to a movement so immoral and so absurd as Mr. Miall's. We fully grant that the abstract considerations in favour of disestablishment are unanswerable. But abstract principles are dangerous weapons; and men who hold to abstract principles lose in influence what they gain in respect. Mr. Miall and his minority in the House of Commons may some day win a victory, but we decline for the present to enlist in his regiment. When it has a leader who commands confidence and respect we shall not be lagging. Meanwhile we object to serve under his flag, which is, indeed, already a good deal smirched."

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is of opinion that Mr. Miall's ignorance of the Established Church may be fairly pitted against Lord Salisbury's ignorance of Dissenters. From one end of Mr. Miall's speech to the other we cannot perceive a trace of his having felt the true difficulty of disestablishment—its probable effect on agricultural labourers, who form the great majority of the English population. The arguments against disestablishment in England were doubtless employed also against disestablishment in Ireland; but whereas the allegations made were substantially false of rural Ireland, they are substantially true of rural England. It was urged during the Irish Church debate that the clergyman was the one gentleman in the parish who could be depended upon to be in residence—the one gentleman who would be sure to have received a far higher degree of culture than the mass of his neighbours—the one gentleman who might be relied on to admit practically that he had duties corresponding to his proprietary rights. The answer to this, so far as Ireland was concerned, was that all these advantages had been nullified or neutralised. The active functions of the office had passed to the Roman Catholic priest, and the irritation caused by the representative of an alien system nearly always destroyed the good influence of his permanent presence and higher cultivation. But, with all the manifest defects of the English clergy, it is scarcely too much to assert that, without the parson of the parish, the English parish itself would revert to that barbarism from which it is, even under existing circumstances, not so very distantly removed. The agricultural labourers of this country have been not altogether unjustly described as a class without hope; but whatever chance of kindness or consolation they may have in need, sickness, or the approach of death, depends in the main on the presence and the comparative affluence of the parish clergyman. It is almost ridiculous to think of his place being taken by a number of ministers of sects competing under the voluntary system. In rural England such a system would be chiefly supported by the farmers, and it must not be forgotten that there is a conflict of material interests between the farmer and the agricultural labourer. One of the most serious objections to Mr. Goschen's remarkable proposals for the reform of local government arises on the increased influence which would be given in the parish to the farmers, and on the consequent doubtfulness of its effects on the condition of the agricultural labourer. Farmers, no doubt, occasionally rise above the weaknesses and prejudices of their order, but it would be well that anybody inclined to look with favour on Mr. Miall's proposals should inquire from a few parish clergymen whether, as a rule, they find that farmers like the agricultural labourer to be kept by education too long from work during his childhood, or to be kept by charity too long out of the workhouse in his old age.

The *Watchman*, the principal organ of the Conference Methodists, argues in favour of Church reform in preference to disestablishment. Our contemporary says:—

Disestablishment means the liberation of the Church from Parliamentary control, or it means nothing. Now is it to be imagined that the Church of England disestablished, that is, deprived altogether of its national character and freed altogether from national control, is to walk out into the promised land of absolute autonomy and self-development, carrying with it the *spolia opima* of all the national endowments, all the cathedrals and the parish churches? That would indeed be for Churchmen, especially High Churchmen, a spoiling of the Parliamentary Egyptians who had so long oppressed them; in particular it would be a spoiling of the Nonconformists in their character of English Christians. We hold that to hand over to the Church of England, transformed into the Episcopalian sect, the properties and revenues of the National Church of England, would be an audacious and intolerable act of injustice, a practical concession to the Church of England of her claim to be the only true English Church. We at least are not Churchmen enough to acquiesce in any such idea. Mr. Miall ought, therefore, if he means to speak as a practical and really frank and candid man, to tell Parliament and the country on what principle he proposes

to deal with the property and revenues of the Church of England.

Probably we are not so near a solution and settlement of this tangled controversy as political prophets declare us to be. Thirty years ago Congregationalists and Congregationalist organs with one consent held extreme voluntary principles in regard to education, while mere political educationists of the advanced liberal school, all the coming men and the men of the coming age, held that a national system of secular education "must come" before many years. Both parties, we now see, were wrong. We are told that the wave of European public opinion is sweeping on and is opposed to all State Establishments. Doubtless to State Establishments artificially organised as a department of State, held under the personal control of kings and ministers, and paid out of the national taxes. But the conditions of the Church of England are peculiar and unique; her authority and rights are traditional, and her revenues are a landed inheritance. Moreover, that wave of which men speak is the impetus which was given to thinking and to political opinions throughout Europe in connection with the great French Revolution, and is as essentially communistic as it is anti-clerical. England cannot but feel that wave, but yet she stands mainly apart from its influence and sweep.

We cannot pretend to have towards the Church of England the feeling of a zealous supporter, much less of a servile retainer. We are well aware of the terrible sum of evils and abuses which have been identified with her history. And, notwithstanding the sectarian bitterness which too much and too often narrows and vulgarises the aims and sympathies of our fellow Nonconformists of the Congregationalist Anti-State-Church school, we know well that, as Protestant Christians and as Nonconformist Englishmen, we and they must ever stand upon a common platform in many respects, must stand together over against the hostile position occupied by divine-right Episcopalians. Nevertheless we are not sure but that it may be much better to aim at the progressive reform of the Church of England than at the inauguration of a sweeping *a priori* "policy" of disestablishment.

SIR ROUNDELL PALMER'S SPEECH.

(From the *Christian World*.)

Sir Roundell Palmer may be described as standing on as high a pedestal of character and of ability as it is ordinarily possible for a lawyer and an Anglican State-Churchman to occupy. He is conscious to himself of entire honesty, and yet all the associations of his State-Church education, all his habits as a skilful and successful advocate, have made it practically impossible for him to get beyond the sham truth into the truth itself. He is a consummate master of all those half-truths, all those gracious and plausible sophisms, which can be brought forward in defence of an institution which is essentially indefensible. As you read his speech, sentence by sentence, you feel that each is as like truth as a glass bead is like a diamond. The diamond is worth 100,000%; the glass bead is not worth a penny; and yet, at a first glance, the eye detects no difference between the two. Strange as it may seem, Sir Roundell Palmer's glass beads require but a touch from the metamorphosing wand of freedom, and they become diamonds. He says that the State-Church, with her articles, her Prayer-book, her public worship, is a Church in the spiritual sense. She is not. These things are indeed the usual accompaniments of a Church, but if they are entirely in the hands of political officers,—if they are the creation of Parliament,—if they are the machinery and puppet-work drawn by threads in the hands of Ministers—then they are the marks, not of a spiritual Church but of a political Church. What man ever loved the Anglican Church better—what man ever defended her more strenuously—than John Henry Newman? And did not he, perhaps the ablest man in her communion, leave her because he found that she was absolutely and only a "National Institution"? Did Jesus Christ give His Church no freedom? And does not Lord Westbury, with all the legal authorities worth quoting at his back, tell Sir Roundell Palmer that the Church of England, as a spiritual society, is absolutely governed by Parliament? Only let the State-Church be free, and then she will be a spiritual Church. The glass will be turned into diamond—into a diamond mirror, flashing the light of piety and Christian earnestness throughout Europe. At present she is no Church in the spiritual sense. It is the simple historical fact, inscribed in statute after statute, that she has sold her birthright of freedom to the State and become a mere political institution. Take another of Sir Roundell Palmer's glass beads. How beautiful, he tells us, are the sweetness and light which descend, in a rural parish in England, on the poor, from the educated and intelligent man who is maintained among them as a clergymen of the State Church. At this point Sir Roundell Palmer's language becomes so glowing that, were it not an impossibility in nature for a practised barrister to be a poet, we might take his words for poetry. But we would crave permission to ask which parish he has in view? Is it that in which the parishioners, driven to despair by the obtrusive Popery of the educated and intelligent man who had bought for himself the power of dispensing to them sweetness and light as long as he lived, took the liberty of entering the church in the person of the churchwarden, and divesting it of some of its Popish adornments, and saw their churchwarden severely fined in consequence? Or is it that in which the sweetness and light are dispensed by a careworn curate on 70*l.* a year, while the holder of the benefice cultivates horse-racing on the 1,200*l.* which it yields him? We should like to have particulars before going into ecstasies

about the State-Church parishes of England. But take the most favourable instance. We do not for a moment deny that Sir Roundell Palmer's account of the influence of Anglican clergymen in the rural parishes of England is sometimes correct. Enter such a parish; watch the congregation which takes its way on this hand to the Nonconformist chapel, and the congregation which takes its way on that to the State Church. The former, you will find, are, in the majority of instances, the poorer of the two. And, if so, this perpetual injustice is constantly forced on the observation of the parishioners—that the rich man's minister is supported by the State and the poor man's minister by the poor man. There are very few men in England so utterly stupid as not to know that the governors of England are entirely agreed that the Episcopal form of Church government is not essential to salvation. The difference between the Episcopal and other forms of Church government is universally regarded by statesmen as merely denominational. One denomination, and that the richest denomination of all, is selected for ascendancy and maintained at the national expense, while poorer denominations have to pay their own way. This is palpably, absolutely, unmistakably unjust. Paint an inch thick, you cannot paint over its deep black. A sense of profound injustice, therefore, inevitably interferes with the dispensation of sweetness and light by the State Church in country parishes. But let the State Church become free and self-supporting, let the wealthiest aristocracy and gentry in the world pay their own clergy, and this fearful obstruction to the spiritual influence of the Episcopal Church will be removed. The glass bead will once more beam into a diamond. Every benign, and tender, and elevating influence now dispensed by the really excellent among the Anglican clergy will be retained, and others will be added to them.

Such was Sir Roundell Palmer's substitution of the half-truth for the whole truth, and of plausibility for reality. In one instance—hardly, we think, in more than one—he became less speciously and more obviously sophistical. Spiritual independence he tried to represent as a practical impossibility and dream in this country. Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, must all enter the civil courts, and are controlled by them. Why, then, he asks, talk of spiritual independence? The fallacy is so superficial that it was not worthy of a place in Sir Roundell Palmer's speech. Disputes as to money matters are, without exception, under the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. Every contract involving money payment is to be interpreted and enforced by the civil authority. If religious or theological considerations are necessary for the interpretation of the contracts in question they are introduced into the civil courts. All this is clear; and no Scottish Presbyterian, though ready to die for spiritual independence, has ever denied it. But the Free Churches of England have perfect freedom to believe and worship as they please; whereas the State Church of England has her Articles and its Prayer-book assigned her by Parliament, and cannot modify them in one jot or tittle. Amazing to say, at the very moment when Sir Roundell Palmer was expatiating on the control of all English Churches by the civil law, Parliament had under consideration a bill for directing State-Church clergymen what passages of Scripture they are to read in public worship. Sir Roundell Palmer knows as well as we do that the Parliament of England has no power to instruct the minister of the smallest Free Church in the land what he is to read of God's word to his congregation. As soon would the English Parliament think of entering a man's house and telling him what to read in family worship. But a man can have no dispute about money matters even with a son or a daughter without coming under the control of the civil courts. Is domestic freedom in England, therefore, a dream? The plain fact is, that the Free Churches are in enjoyment of the liberty given them by Christ, while the State Church is in utter, absolute, degrading bondage.

THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER ON MR. MIALL'S MOTION.

The Bishop of Manchester consecrated the new church of St. James at Bolton, on Thursday. At the public luncheon which followed the ceremony, the Bishop, in reply to the toast of the "Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese," said: He had had the pleasure, not unmixed with pain—very few pleasures were purely pleasant—of listening to Mr. Miall's speech when he introduced his motion the other evening for the disestablishment of the English Church. The source of his pleasure, when he listened to the honourable member's speech, was that the argument used was very moderate, and that the speech was well-reasoned and well-expressed. If he marked its temper, however, it was only to contrast it most favourably with the temper manifested by the same gentleman some five-and-years ago, when he wrote a book called, "The Nonconformist Sketchbook," in which he used language against the Church of England hardly justifiable by the facts. Mr. Miall's motion was perfectly temperate, and not a word was said that need have pained any one to hear. The question was argued purely upon historical principles. The only bitter thing, if there was a tinge of bitterness in Mr. Miall's speech, he thought had reference to himself. (A laugh.) Mr. Miall said there were certain right rev. prelates who instead of commencing preparations for the future, and raising a sustentation fund, were going

about their dioceses and asking what would become of all the poor parishes in England if the Church were disestablished and disendowed? Mr. Miall said he would answer the question after a fashion by asking another. Now came the bitter tinge. (A laugh.) Mr. Miall said, "I would ask these right rev. prelates what has become of the rural parishes under the teaching of the Church of England?" Mr. Miall meant that the rural parishes at present were little better than so many centres of pauperism and darkness; but he was very well answered on that point by Sir Roundell Palmer, who, admitting, as they all admitted, that there were spots where there might be more light and more culture and more morality, recognised, as all must recognise, the fact that the Church was the chief means of diffusing light and culture and spiritual influence in every town and in every hamlet of England. (Hear, hear.) With 20,000 clergy it was not likely that all would be perfect patterns to their flocks. He believed, however, that in the Church, as in everything else, things were improving. He was satisfied that there was more devotion and more ardent spiritual life on the part of the clergy than there was when he was boy. One of the happiest and healthiest signs of the times to his mind was the fact that the clergy were awaking—he did not say that many had been asleep before—(a laugh)—to their duties and offices, and that the laity were beginning to take their proper place and to feel their proper interest and responsibility in making the Church system as efficient as possible. (Hear, hear.) He did not believe that the people of England wanted to get rid of their old Established Church. He saw it reported at one of the preliminary meetings of the Liberation Society, before the measure was brought into the House, that Mr. Miall or some other speaker, speaking of the movement, said it was quite true that the working classes were not very hot agitators of the society, and that they required to be agitated up to the mark. (A laugh.) No doubt agitation would do, and has done, a great deal in England; but he did not think that agitation would ever succeed in alienating the hearts of the people of England from any institution in Church or State which could prove its right and title to a hold in their affection by virtue of the work it had done. (Applause.)

THE BRADFORD PETITION AGAINST DISESTABLISHMENT.

Under the head of "Local Gossip," we find the following in the *Bradford Observer*:

"It will be remembered that before Mr. Miall moved his resolution, Mr. Gathorne Hardy got up and presented a petition against it, which was signed, he said, by 21,700 ratepayers of Bradford. This petition made quite an impression on the House; it was even referred to by the Premier, as a proof of the unconverted state of Bradford on the question. Well, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, when he said the petition was signed by 21,700 Bradford ratepayers, stated what was not the fact, and if the Bradford Conservative Association are originally responsible for the misrepresentation—as they probably are—it deserves to be recorded as a fine example of their tactics. I should like to see the real history of that petition published, and the signatures analysed. What a story we should have of Sunday-school scholars led up to the petition sheets to sign what, as far as they really understood the merits of the question, might have been an intercession for the Choctaws! What is the proportion of women who have signed the petition? Without ever having seen the document, I venture to assert that there are not 5,000 signatures of Parliamentary voters for the borough of Bradford attached to it. If the petition, and the process by which it was got up, were subjected to the investigation of a Parliamentary committee—a course which is sometimes taken, and which I wish some Liberal member would move for in the present case—the extreme simplicity of the *modus operandi* would, I doubt not, be speedily unfolded. It seems possible that even without this process some interesting information will be forthcoming. A correspondent, who supplies me with his name, and assures me that the facts he states come within his own personal knowledge, says, 'A family, including eight members ranging in age from three months upwards, all figures in the petition. . . . Petitions were lying at some of the Church schools on the Sunday week before the debate, and all the scholars, irrespective of sex, who could write were expected to sign them.'

"An Outsider" says in the *Bradford Observer*:—"The petition was signed very largely by parties who have not a stitch of connection with Bradford (they certainly have with some other part of the West Riding, but not a fraction with Bradford); and I can also tell 'One of the Petitioners, further, both whom they were and from whence they hail.' Another correspondent, 'H. S.' writes:—"I had yesterday a little conversation with a ratepayer respecting Mr. Miall's disestablishment motion. He told me that the petition was taken to his house to sign. He signed it both for himself and the whole of his family, which he said he was expected to do and had a right to do, as both his wife and children were supposed to be Church people like himself. I believe there are eleven in number, and the youngest about fifteen months old."

The *Leeds Times* contains the following as to the way in which the petition was got up:

Scores of men, we say, were engaged hawking it

about among day-schools connected with the various churches, as well as among Sunday-schools, and the families to whom the scholars belong, and names were put down as rapidly as the hirelings could scribble them, the poor lambs ignorant of the grand mystery of all. Then whole families were entered at a sweep, from the infant lately born up to the venerable and intelligent head of the family, and the more numerous always the more valuable for the Church, now in such imminent danger. Then, if you please, gentle reader, enter with us many of the mills, and survey the scene, and what do you behold? Petition sheets are unfolded, half-timers, boys and girls, learning to read the half of each day at school, and whole-timers, are turned out to sign—it is not necessary to know what—and weavers and reapers, male and female spinners, and doffers, few of whom are registered as ratepayers in the books of the overseers, are driven up also to sign, and if they cannot, why it is done for them, and if they are unwilling, it can be done for them all the same. Go into some machine-shops and dyeworks, and you may find the game being carried on in a similar manner. We have been further informed that thousands of names purporting to be those of living persons, but who actually had no existence, were put down, for that was the easiest way of getting up a petition of the ratepayers anxious to prop up the crumbling Establishment. Well might the genius who acts as a buttress to the Church cry out in a contemporary, "It is wonderful how we have done it—but we did"; and the same genius says, "Every man who signed the petition knew what he was about." No doubt, say we, when a few dashed down names by hundred from the burges list without a jot or tittle of authority, except that of the Conservative Association, who, we are told, got it up, and will take the responsibility of their actions upon themselves. All that we have written cannot be gainsaid, because every word is true, and we may safely affirm there were not 4,000 of the *bond fide* legal ratepayers and Parliamentary electors of the borough attached to the petition, and the promoters know it.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON AND THE RITUALISTS.

A letter has been addressed by the Bishop of London to the Rev. R. Temple West, one of the 4,700 clergy who signed the remonstrance against the Privy Council judgment in the Purchas case. Having remarked that the coercive duties of a bishop are the most painful duties which his office devolves upon him, Dr. Jackson proceeds:—"The relation of a bishop towards his clergy should be that of an elder brother or a father; and his authority, although derived from God's word, should be paternally or fraternally exercised. That it is not always so may not be in all cases the bishop's fault. There may be wanting on his part gentleness, consideration, and sympathy—a spirit of equity, or a spirit of love; but, on the other part, if the true relationship is to be maintained, there must be an appreciation of the difficulties of his position and duties, indulgence towards his failures of judgment or temper, an abnegation of the spirit of *anomia* and wilfulness which is the prevalent character of the times we live in; and a readiness, or at any rate a determination, to obey his monitions, not being contrary to God's word—not merely when they are agreeable to our own opinions and habits, which is hardly worth calling obedience, but when they run counter to our wishes and feelings, do not commend themselves to our judgment, and require a sacrifice of our own will. In this estimate of our relative positions and duties I do not believe that we differ. In this spirit, if I know myself at all, I desire to act. And therefore, at this crisis of our Church's history, when her peace and usefulness or woe or woe for generations to come, depend, under God, upon the course taken by her bishops and clergy now, I appeal to you, and to those clergy (they are many, earnest and devoted to their work) who feel with you with respect to the recent judgment—as a brother to his brethren, as a father (if you will let me) to his children—to comply with my earnest desire and my direction that the rules now laid down for the ornaments of the minister and the conduct of public worship may be the rules of our diocese. I, at least, am bound both in law and conscience by the recent decisions of the courts; nor do I deny that they approve themselves to my own judgment as correct interpretations of the mind and laws of the Church of England, which, as a true and living branch of the Church Catholic, 'hath power to decree rites and ceremonies.' I may of course be in error; but the responsibility of the error (if such it be) rests properly on me, and is one of the inherent burdens of my office. You, if you accept my ruling, are free from all such responsibility, especially if you accept it for duty's sake in opposition to your own judgment and in spite of your own strong convictions. Such a sacrifice of self—one, perhaps, of the most difficult—is never made without a blessing. But on those who take a different course, even if their judgment on the matter in dispute is right—much more if it should prove to be wrong—there must lie a very heavy responsibility."

The *Church Times* understands that Dr. Liddon and Canon Gregory have asked the bishop to make them the first victims, if he should be constrained to allow any prosecutions.

MR. MIALL'S DISESTABLISHMENT MOTION.—The Great Horton (Bradford) Liberal Club recently passed a resolution expressive of thanks to Mr. Miall, "for the able manner in which he sought to enforce his motion" in Parliament for the disestablishment of the English Church, "and while valuing its real worth the petition which was lodged against

the motion from Bradford, declare our unabated confidence in him, and the principles with which his name is associated, believing the grand ideal of a free Church in a free State will ere long, in our own country, become an accomplished fact." They have received the following reply from Mr. Miall, to whom the resolution was forwarded:—

Welland House, Forest-hill, May 19, 1871.

Dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge, with hearty thanks, a copy of a resolution you have been kind enough to forward to me, and which you inform me was passed unanimously at a special meeting of the members of the Great Horton Liberal Club, held on Friday evening, the 12th inst. I beg to assure the members of that club that their approval of my efforts on behalf of the disestablishment of the Churches established by law in the United Kingdom, in the House of Commons, on the 9th inst., is full compensation to me for the anxieties I have felt, and the labour I have undergone, in reference to the adequate discharge of the formidable duty I had undertaken in the matter. I trust you will convey to those whom you represent an expression of my full appreciation of the honour they have been pleased to confer upon me.—I am, dear Sir, yours very respectfully,
Mr. Sydney Swaino. EDWARD MIALL.

At a quarterly meeting of the western division of the county of Carmarthen, at a conference held on the 10th of May, 1871, at Abergwili, the Rev. D. Cadvan Jones occupying the chair, it was unanimously and warmly resolved:—"That this meeting beg to tender its sincere thanks to Edward Miall, Esq., M.P., for bringing the subject of disestablishment before the House of Commons, and for the able speech in which he introduced his resolution; congratulates him on the interesting debate he originated, as a valuable means of enlightening the public, and trusts the measure of support he has received will encourage the honourable gentleman to proceed with his motion until his policy is adopted."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY has returned to England, and is now at Stonehouse, near Ramsgate.

THE REV. J. A. FROUDE, the historian, has taken steps, under the Clergy Disabilities Bill, to divest himself of his clerical designation.

BISHOP OF LONDON'S FUND.—At the annual meeting of the Bishop of London's Fund, it was stated that the new contributions last year amounted to 40,000*l.*, and that the total receipts since the formation of the fund, now reached 420,000*l.* The Bishop of London, who presided, said this was not half the sum of one million that was asked for; but it exceeded what was expected by many of the promoters of the fund. Since the beginning of the scheme, eighty-six new churches had been consecrated.

DR. DÖLLINGER AND PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.—The *Rock* has information that Dr. Dollinger is about to visit England. The *Görlitzer Anzeiger* says that a few days ago the Minister of Public Worship addressed an order to the directors of educational establishments summoning them to require teachers of religion to declare their views on the dogma of Papal infallibility, and to state what course they intend to pursue towards their pupils with respect to this doctrine. We read in the *German Correspondent* that Professors Walther, Marcus, and Muller, with other men in high position of Munich, have published a declaration against the dogma, and expresses a hope that the Government of Bavaria will not only oppose all illegal action on the part of the spiritual authorities, but summon a new Landtag as soon as possible to regulate the relations of Church and State in a liberal spirit.

THE UNIVERSITY SCRIPTURAL TEST.—Archdeacon Denison has addressed to the *Guardian* the following emphatic testimony against the Marquis of Salisbury's new Scriptural test:—"Our Parliamentary Churchmanship is certainly a curious thing. By way of maintaining the religious character of University education, a test is proposed by Lord Salisbury which is worse than worthless. It is worthless because, as it may be interpreted just as any man pleases, it has no binding power. All the world knows by this time what the 'Divine authority' of Holy Scripture may be reduced to by the man who affirms it; and what its teaching may be made to include or not; or even to exclude, by exercise of private judgment. It is worse than worthless, because it is a bit of ultra-Protestantism hardly to be matched even in our time: having no word in it, or indication about it, connected with the Church Catholic. It seems to me idle, or rather mischievous, to legislate in Parliament about religious tests. The utmost they can amount to now is a nullity; and legislative or judicial nullities are very mischievous things. Lord Salisbury's test might have come, in *indubium*, from the Essayists or Reviewers, or from the Educational or the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. If legislation about Church matters is attempted, it is quite certain to issue, upon all questions of principle, in compromises like Lord Salisbury's test; that is to say, in surrendering everything that is worth keeping, and leaving an imposture upon the public."

A HINT TO SCOTTISH LIBERAL M.P.'S.—The *Strathern Herald*, in writing respecting electioneering in Perthshire, has the following:—"Now, it is a fact that the Liberal interest is not exactly in the best position at present, and Mr. Gladstone's Government has helped in a large way to disgust the best men in the Liberal ranks. Good men and true throughout the country would like to see, in particular, our county member following, perhaps, a little less closely, the Government in its present state of defection; and especially is there a somewhat wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction at the vote of our county member recorded against Mr.

Miall's disestablishment motion. It may be true that Mr. Parker believes in State Churches; we do not know, but we have to remind him that his return was secured by a very opposite party, and with some three honourable exceptions, every minister of the Establishment in Perthshire voted dead against him, and they would turn him out to-morrow if they could. Should Mr. Parker seek to please his enemies at the expense of his friends? We leave him to judge. We thus speak openly and frankly, because we believe there is danger ahead, and should an opportunity come the Tories will care little for past favours from the opposite camp, except to use them as a weapon in order to divide their enemies. They will accept of no terms but a return to the old position, and it is, therefore, a vain, a dangerous, and self-destructive way of working to try to pacify a foe that can only be pacified by being utterly crushed into a powerless condition."

Religious and Denominational News.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—On Monday, May 15th, at the first meeting of the Board of Directors after the anniversary services, S. Saddington, Esq., of Islington, was elected chairman, and the Rev. W. Guest, of Gravesend, Deputy chairman, for the year.

ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH.—The Baptist chapel in this town was built in 1862 at a cost of 1,610*l.* After the opening service there remained a debt of 350*l.*, this was reduced by a bazaar last September to 139*l.* A large quantity of goods remained unsold, and the ladies of the congregation have considerably added to the stock during the last four months. The Countess of Loudoun having again kindly lent the use of the Bath Rooms for a bazaar, on the 10th inst. the goods were offered for sale, and the sum of 100*l.* was taken. On the following evening the goods left were sold by auction in the schoolroom for 17*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*, making about 138*l.* The expenses of the bazaar and interest due on the debt itself left a deficit of 21*l.*, but on Sunday evening, after the service, the Rev. C. Clarke, B.A., detained his congregation to make the gratifying announcement that this sum had been secured by subscriptions, making a total of about 159*l.* The congregation then joined heartily in singing the doxology. In nine years the church have raised for their Ashby and Packington chapels 1,976*l.* 12*s.*, and now both are entirely free from debt.

PLYMOUTH.—The Tabernacle, one of the oldest places of worship in Plymouth, has just been enlarged and renovated at a cost of about 300*l.* On Friday, May 5th, the Rev. C. B. Symes, B.A., of Union Chapel, preached the opening sermon. On the following Sunday, the Rev. N. Boyns (Wesleyan), Rev. R. Lewis (Baptist), and Rev. Professor Anthony, M.A., of the Western College, also delivered suitable and stirring discourses to large and interested audiences. The following Tuesday a social tea was provided in the Friends' new schoolroom, kindly lent for the purpose, and when a goodly number of visitors had done justice to the favourite beverage, a public meeting was held in the chapel, presided over by S. Elliott, Esq., a member of the Society of Friends. The Rev. H. Wheeler, pastor of the church, read a report, in which some of the sacred memories of the place were revived. The first pastor of the old building, A. Kinsman, was one of Whitfield's converts, and here Whitfield several times preached; Wesley also twice occupied its pulpit; it had become much dilapidated, and the congregation dwindled to a few. An appeal was made for help, and about 150*l.* raised. A new vestry and orchestra have been built, the seats reconstructed and painted; the old place has been made to look new, holding at least 450; and half the cost is yet unsubscribed. The Revs. J. Tremelling (Bible Christian), and N. Broadway (Primitive Methodist), also addressed the meeting. Liberal collections were made after each service, and the reopening gives promise of better days for this venerable edifice.

THE THEATRE SERVICES.—On Friday evening, the stewards, managers, city missionaries, and assistants engaged in the work of gathering in, collecting, and accommodating congregations at the theatres and public halls, which during the winter season are used for religious service on Sundays, met at Cannon-street Hotel, and a report was provided for the good men and women thus occupied. Lord Shaftesbury afterwards took the chair, and Mr. Sawell, the invaluable secretary to the committee who directed this movement, reported that during the twelfth winter course of the special services in London, there had been seven theatres opened, 231 services held, which had been attended by 158,000 persons, mainly from the class for which the services were intended—namely, those who were never found in either church or chapel. He was sorry to say, however, that their efforts were in a measure crippled by the unwillingness shown by some of the lessees in permitting their theatres to be used on Sunday evenings. It would therefore become a question for the committee to decide upon what other buildings could be utilised in extending the good which had already been accomplished. The results of what had been done he felt could not be arithmetically calculated, but as an illustration of what a great city may become without the blessing of God, and without evangelistic work, he would refer them to the lamentable condition of the capital of a neighbouring country. Mr. Sawell further expressed the great pleasure the committee had experienced in the kind co-operation both of

the clergy and Nonconformist ministers in conducting the services, and several of the men who assist at the different theatres related incidents connected with the services, and reported marked instances of their good influence. An interesting account was given by the Rev. George Driffield, rector of Bow, of a similar effort he has made in his own parish. Having engaged a large hall, newly erected, for the Sundays, he called in the aid of all the neighbouring Nonconformist ministers, and they had worked together with the happiest results. He trusted this movement was only a prelude to a general exchange of pulpits between the clergy and the Nonconformist ministers. The closer intimacy which these theatre services had brought about between the ministers of all denominations was dwelt upon by many of the speakers as a result which was in itself worth all the money and labour expended in this effort. There was a falling off in the attendance last season, for which several causes were suggested, and the party resolved to make new and greater efforts in the next winter. Earl Shaftesbury said he believed that were it not for the existence of this and kindred institutions, the condition of our great city of London would be very little better than that of Paris. For his own part, he had never in his varied life enjoyed anything more than the share he had taken in these services, and the plain, earnest, and simple manner in which they were conducted.

Anniversary Meetings.

PEACE SOCIETY.—ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Peace Society was held in Finsbury Chapel yesterday evening. There was a large attendance, and much interest was manifested in the proceedings throughout. Mr. Joseph W. Pease, M.P., took the chair. Amongst those present were Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P., Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., Mr. Henry Vincent, Mr. G. W. Alexander, Rev. George W. Conder, Mr. Henry Pease, Mr. Charles Pease, Dr. Ellis, Mr. John Horniman, Mr. Stafford Allen, Mr. Samuel Gurney, Mr. Charles Wise, Mr. Samuel Bowly, Mr. Robert Alsop, Mr. William Ecroyd, J.P., Mr. Charles Thompson, J.P., Rev. Thomas Phillips (Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society), Mr. William Tallack (Secretary of the Howard Association), and others. Mr. Miall, M.P., who had been announced as one of the speakers, was unavoidably detained by his Parliamentary duties.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said: I must apologise to you for again occupying this chair. I feel that I owe it to the kindness of your committee, not to any personal exertions of my own on behalf of the society whose interest we are met this evening to promote, but on account of that kind consideration which you have shown to your absent president; who, whilst absent from you this evening, and likely, I am sorry to think, to be ever absent from these meetings, still, in his declining years, and in the sunset of his life, thinks with pleasure upon the evenings that he has passed here, and upon the exertions which he has used, however feeble they may be, on behalf of this society, and he still evinces his lively interest in it by constant correspondence with my friend, your secretary, on its account. (Cheers.) On these occasions I think we do well to look at the position of that which we have been endeavouring for long years to promote—the absence of war, the presence of peace among the nations of the earth—and while we look at the history of the past twelve months, though we shall find a great deal to discourage, I trust there is, when you come to analyse it, a good deal which will encourage us to further exertion, and to exertion prompted by the best of all promptings, the spirit of hope. (Cheers.) Since we last met a most awful war has raged over one of the fairest portions of Europe—a war which, in a short period of time, has devastated one of those beautiful countries, and which has sent thousands of our fellow-men to untimely graves, or else consigned them to a perfect state of—*I was going to call it—"crippled."* The hon. gentleman referred to the estimated number of killed and wounded in the late war, in addition to which there was a horrible category of women made widows, of children made orphans, of trade ruined, and the fairest prospects of nations blighted—things which no human calculations could ever fathom, and the sad and horrible results of which could only be conjured up by imagination. It was a fact, very appalling in its character, that for every day since they had last met within those walls, at least a thousand of our fellow-men had been destroyed. France had lost a very considerable portion of her male population in the wars in which she had engaged in China, in Mexico, in Italy, in Germany, and, demoralised, depopulated, and deteriorated, she ran again into a war, the only object for which was that military glory which had for so long been the bane of that country. One very discouraging element with which they had to contend was the military panic at home, which had led to a large increase in the taxation of the country, for which the constituencies were more to blame than the Government. In the House of Commons there was a large excess of the military element, and in the debate on the Army Regulation Bill he had been curious enough to note down the names of the speakers for and against that measure, the result of which was that out of thirty speakers against it, he found that twenty-seven were military

officers, one was a member of the late Government, one had been in the employment of the late Government, and one was a rear-admiral. During the ten years that elapsed before the Crimean war, the army and navy estimates were ten millions per annum less than they were now. During the time that the greatest soldier of the day—the Duke of Wellington—took a large part in politics, and when Sir Robert Peel (one of the ablest men of the day) was Prime Minister, those estimates never exceeded a sum of ten millions less than they were at the present time. He (the Chairman) next referred to the Treaty of Paris, and the way in which the recent difficulty with Russia had been disposed of, as encouraging signs of the progress of peace principles; also to the prospect of a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the Alabama question. It appeared to him that the common sense and the common Christianity of England and America had met, and avoided a state of things which would have been disastrous to the civilised world and disgraceful to their common Christianity. Having alluded at length to the way in which the Alabama difficulty had arisen, he (the Chairman) appealed to those who had not joined the Peace Society to give it their support. Some people said their standard was too high, and they could not come up to it, but he did not think they had a very high standard for those who wished to join in the lower rank. They were glad to enlist those who had merely got to the A B C of the Peace Society, viz., those who thought war was very uneconomical. He believed they could get anybody to join on those terms. They would be very glad to have those who thought war not only uneconomical, but impolitic and immoral. They were very broad in their creed, and had no written one, and were very glad to have the help of anyone who would work at that most important national question; but they were still more glad of the aid of those who thought that all war was opposed to every precept of that religion which was proclaimed on the hills around Bethlehem, when the angels announced that it was "Glory to God on highest: peace on earth, and goodwill toward men." (Cheers.)

Mr. HENRY RICHARD, M.P. (the Secretary): Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, this question of the report is always a perplexing one. It would seem as though the working of a society for a whole year, and the principles and motives which have guided its committee, ought to be laid at some length before its constituents at the annual meeting; but the operation of reading the report is felt to be one against which there is a morbid prejudice on the part especially of a London audience, and so I have sometimes attempted to effect a compromise, and that is, by not reading the report, but making a short speech, in which I endeavour to embody some of the facts and points which the report contains, and so catch the meeting by guile into listening to something about the report. I shall pursue that course this evening. The report opens, as you may naturally have expected, by a reference to the events that have taken place in Europe during the year. It states that the year that is past has been an eventful year for the cause of peace, because there have been others than lecturers of the Peace Society who have taken in hand the work of proclaiming the folly and the cruelty and the wastefulness and the wickedness of war. It is kings and emperors that have been the teachers this time—(cheers)—and they have taught in a voice so loud and with practical illustrations so terrible and appalling in the way of slaughtered men and despairing women and devastated countries and blazing villages and bombarded and famishing towns, and in a general accompaniment of brutality and blasphemy and blood, such as the world has seldom witnessed. (Hear.) And the nations must be deaf as an adder if they do not listen to and lay to heart the lessons so impressively taught to them by these royal and imperial personages, the most obvious and the most emphatic of which—common place though it be—is that which has already been drawn for us by one of our own poets, and that is that:—

War is a game which, were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at.

(Cheers.) And surely there is another lesson which these events have taught with trumpet-tongued clearness and emphasis, and that is, that large armaments instead of being (as is sometimes pretended) preservatives of peace, are eminently and emphatically provocatives of war, and that there is no hope of rest or happiness for Europe or for the world until the power of controlling the policy of states, and thereby disposing of the destinies of nations, shall be wrested out of the hands of the military class—(cheers)—that class who have contrived to convert almost all of the inhabitants of Europe into two distinct classes, which may be described as beasts of prey and beasts of burden. (Cheers.) Now, sir, the question that has of course occupied the attention of the committee largely during the war has been the war on the continent. After the outbreak of war and during its continuance very little can be done as respects the countries that were actually concerned in the war. It is sometimes made a matter of taunt against us by our opponents, and almost of reproach by some impatient and injudicious friends, that when two countries are rushing into mortal fray, the Peace Society does not come between the combatants, and as they say, put their principles to the test; but the truth is—and it is a truth to which the friends of peace will do well everywhere to give heed—that our work must be done during peace, and not during war, for

when once the mischief is on foot—when once the tempest of passion has been unloosed—when men's reason is clouded by prejudice, and their hearts are envenomed by mutual rancour, to speak to them of peace at that moment is like an attempt to deliver a lecture on temperance to a company of drunken revellers when they are most flushed with insolence and wine. "The fruit of righteousness" (says the great Book) "must be sown in peace." But whatever could be done was done both by the friends of peace at home and abroad; and here I must be permitted to pay my tribute of respect to the members of the International League of Peace in France, that during the long agony of the conflict through which their country had to pass, they never ceased to lift up their voices as opportunity offered, in behalf of peace, even though they did so at every disadvantage, because freedom of the press and public meeting was almost entirely suppressed. When British diplomacy was engaged in making its last effort to avert the breach, a most touching and pathetic address was sent by them to the Emperor of the French and the King of Prussia, adjuring them—since policy and diplomacy had failed—in the name of the religion which they professed to believe, not to rush into the work of bloodshed and carnage that was before them. And afterwards, at a later period, they sent an address to the Queen of Prussia, who some years before had allowed herself to be enrolled as a member of the International League of Peace, and had declared her total approval of all their principles and objects; and after the critical event of Sedan, your committee also sent a memorial to the King of Prussia and Monsieur Jules Favre, earnestly counselling moderation and mutual forbearance in the interests of peace. But the committee have felt during the year that their work was at home among their own countrymen, to draw the moral of the events going on upon the continent, and above all to use whatever influence they possessed to prevent this country from being drawn into that whirlpool of blood. And it has been a satisfaction to them to feel that in taking this course they were acting in harmony with the policy that had been adopted by our own rulers. And here I must say—though there is much in the conduct of the Government which I disapprove, and of which I shall have to speak hereafter—I think they have entitled themselves to the earnest and lasting gratitude of the country for the resolute spirit with which they resisted every attempt—all seductions and enticements, whether from within or from without—to drag or to drive this nation into any share in a war which was most unjustifiable. (Great cheers.) Well, the committee of the Peace Society I believe did something, with all the lectures and public meetings which they held, and the publications which they scattered broadcast over the face of the country—to create that public opinion which so steadfastly sustained the Government in its policy of non-intervention, in spite of the efforts made by a small but active party in this country to induce—of all other classes in the world—the working classes to raise a clamour in favour of a policy of armed intervention on the continent of Europe—"Shame!"—"a policy" (to quote the language of the leading journal, and the leading journal is sometimes, by accident, right) which in times past has cost this country blood and treasure beyond all calculation," and which in our own day has been abandoned by consent of all statesmen, and that at the immediate instance of the best friends the working classes ever had in this country. (Hear, hear.) In connection with this subject there is one great fact to which the committee must refer with peculiar satisfaction in relation to the history of their cause during the last year, and that is, the spontaneous rise of a movement in favour of peace among the working classes themselves. Assuredly, no class whatever are so vitally interested in peace, or suffer so deeply from war as they do. To other classes war may, and unfortunately often does, bring honour, titles, emolument, promotion, and profit, but to them it brings only degradation and suffering, and oppression, and slavery—(cheers)—for the burden of war, whether of military service, or of taxation, however cunningly you may attempt to arrange it, so as to endeavour to make it fall equally, must always in the last resort fall most hardly upon labour. Consciousness of this is growing fast on the working classes on the continent of Europe. They feel that in times past their lives have been the "pawns" employed by Kings and Governments wherewith to play the game, always of selfish ambition or of blundering diplomacy. (Cheers.) Therefore it is that the committee hail with satisfaction the formation among the working classes of this country of a movement for the promotion of peace, and I must add that it has hitherto been conducted in a calm, temperate, Christian spirit. At the outbreak of the war there was an admirable address issued by the Working Men's Peace Committee of England and Ireland, and ultimately a working men's peace association was formed which has ramifications over every part of the kingdom, and this body, by the meetings which it has held and the tracts it has issued, has rendered valuable service during the critical juncture through which we have just passed. I wish it to be distinctly understood that it is a *bond fide* working men's organisation, originated, constituted, and conducted by working men themselves, though the committee of the Peace Society have felt it as much their pleasure as their duty to do whatever they could to encourage and assist the movement which they believe full of hopeful augury to the cause they have so much at heart. (Cheers.) The hon. gentleman maintained that no war could break out in Europe, unhappily, without exerting an evil

influence upon those nations that were most determined to be neutral. It afforded an occasion to those who were always on the watch for a pretext to raise an alarm, as an excuse for adding to our military establishments; which had been the case on the present occasion. The flimsiest excuse that could be discovered was good enough as a pretext for picking John Bull's pocket, and the pretext found on this occasion was that they were alleged to have entered into certain treaties of guarantee in order to protect the independence of some small countries on the continent of Europe—treaties into which he dared boldly to affirm they ought not to have entered; for he held it to be monstrous that one man who happened to be a foreign secretary, an ambassador, or a plenipotentiary, should have the power of pawing the blood and treasure and moral responsibility of thirty millions of people, without their knowledge and without their consent, to obligations which were limitless in extent and for all time; obligations which the changes and complications of human affairs might soon render absurd and incapable of execution. (Great applause.) On that pretext the Government at the tail of last session obtained a vote of two millions of money and an addition of 20,000 men to the army. There were but few men in the House of Commons who had the courage to resist that absurd and extravagant demand. He (Mr. Richard) had that morning received from some good friend an anonymous letter stating he had attended the Peace Society's meetings for twenty-five years, and asking him how he (the hon. member for Merthyr) could reconcile what he had said on that platform with his support of Mr. Lowe's extravagant war budget. He thought it would be news to the chairman and other hon. members to hear that he had supported the extravagant expenditure of the Government, but so far from its being a fact, he had voted against them on Mr. Mundella's motion, on Mr. Leatham's motion, and on Mr. White's motion, and, to the best of his ability, he had spoken in the same direction, and would do so again. Whoever chose to raise the question in the House of Commons should have his support even though he should be one of seven as he was on the former occasion. (Hear, hear.) The key-note struck by the Government at the end of last session had been taken up by the professional alarmists during the recess, and repeated in louder and louder notes until at length it became a perfect shriek of panic. Proposals of the wildest description for the increase of the national defences had been poured upon the public by naval and military and volunteer officers of all grades and conditions—some of them for a large increase of the army and navy, others for the creation of enormous reserve forces, others for the construction of gigantic fortifications along the coast and twenty-five miles around London—(laughter)—others for universal military service after the manner of Prussia or Switzerland. The committee of the Peace Society set itself resolutely to oppose that folly, and, as they believed, not without effect. The Government unhappily gave heed to the outcry, and the friends of peace and economy were astounded to hear that they were about to add 4,000,000*l.* in one year to the naval and military expenditure. Having referred in eulogistic terms to some of the small band of members of the House of Commons who had given those proposals their most strenuous and determined resistance, Mr. Richard alluded to the receipt of Prince Gortschakoff's note which startled Europe in November last, in which the Russian Government signified its intention of withdrawing from that part of the Treaty of 1856 that related to its power in the Black Sea. That was the signal for one of those eccentric outbursts of morality to which they were subject in this country, and which were so very difficult to explain. For fifty years, and much longer than that, treaties of all kinds to which they were parties had been violated with impunity—the very existence of the Emperor Napoleon on the throne of France was a flagrant violation of the Treaty of Vienna—by France, by Prussia, by Austria, by Italy, and by Russia itself, and at all those violations England had connived, and, in some of them, concurred and actively co-operated, and in none of them had she found any ground for declaring that international morality was about to be shaken to its foundation. In the literary and lecture department, the committee of the Peace Society had been very active, more so during the past year than in any previous year of its history. They had issued during the past year, 260,000 copies of publications, ranging from volumes of considerable size to small tracts and handbills; some of them discussing the principles of the society, but most of them having reference to the passing events of the day. Another use of the press of which they had availed themselves, was supplying paragraphs to the newspapers of the country, containing arguments, statistics, and facts, illustrative of peace and war; and the committee desired to express their grateful acknowledgment to the conductors of the public press for the readiness with which they had thrown open their columns to those communications. More than 350 newspapers, including sixty published in London, had inserted those paragraphs, in addition probably to a large number that had not come within the knowledge of the committee. In addition to this no less than 370 "peace" meetings had been held during the year, which had been generally attended by crowded and enthusiastic

audiences. They were met continually by a class of cynical philosophers with the question, *Cui bono?* "What is the good of these weak-minded, well-meaning persons going about the world preaching peace? Do they imagine that their preaching can have any influence on the direction and control of human affairs?" In reply to that he would remind them that the foolishness of preaching had been a favourite theme with a certain class of philosophers from as early a time at least as the origin of Christianity, and yet somehow or other the preachers had always contrived to beat the philosophers. Nothing was more certain than that if by preaching they meant—as they must mean in its larger sense—the use of argument, persuasion, and appeal, trusting to the understanding and conscience of mankind in the interests of truth and justice and humanity, then the most important revolutions effected in the history of the world have been brought to pass by that despised agency. It was by preaching that the apostles and their successors conquered the world to Christ—it was by preaching that Peter the Hermit kindled the wild fanaticism of the Crusades—it was by preaching that Luther transformed the face of Europe—it was by preaching that Whitefield and Wesley infused new life into the torpid heart of England, that had been all but smothered by the combined influences of infidelity and formalism. It was by preaching that Clarkson and Wilberforce abolished the accursed traffic by which men made merchandise of the blood, and bones, and sinews, and souls of their fellow-men. (Cheers.) It was by preaching that Buxton and Sturge in England—and Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips in America, smote the monster Slavery itself, and inflicted upon it a wound from which it never recovered. It was by preaching that O'Connell gained emancipation for his long-enslaved country. It was by preaching that Cobden and Bright—(great applause)—won untaxed bread for the poor, and unfettered commerce for the world—(renewed cheering)—and it is by preaching (for I know of no other agency) from pulpit and press, and platform and free Parliaments, that the heart of nations must become greatly imbued—so imbued—with just and humane, and Christian sentiment, that they will rise in rebellion against the iniquity of war, and will say to their Governments—whatsoever may be the nature of those Governments—"This thing shall go on no longer"—(cheers)—"we all are brethren made of the same blood—the children of the same Father, and we refuse to be trained to do this work of mutual butchery against each other." (Cheers.) If therefore there is to be any fighting in the future,

Let those men who make the quarrels be
The only men to fight.

(Renewed applause.) One other remark I have to make, and that is this, that there is one result of the late war that has gained the attention of thoughtful and humane men—viz., whether it is not possible by some means to avert the occurrence of such dreadful calamities by the adoption of some form of international arbitration. The question was brought before a section of the Social Science Congress at Newcastle, who passed a resolution recommending the Council of the association to nominate a committee of eminent persons to inquire into the subject. They did me the honour of inviting me to be a member of that committee. We have met very frequently, and the committee has taken an immensity of pains to get at the opinion of eminent jurists and others concerned in the study of international law, and I hope, before long, the report of that committee will be given to the world. Another most important contribution to the discussion of the question was a remarkable lecture delivered by Professor Seely to the members of the Peace Society. The committee, while unable to concur in all the views advanced by the learned professor—though they are by no means sure that the time may not come in the remote future when his grand idea of a European Federation will be realised—cannot but express their deep gratification that a gentleman so widely and deservedly honoured, and occupying a position of so much influence, should have been led to consider the subject with such an earnest purpose. But a still more valuable contribution, in the estimation of the committee, is a work published lately by Mr. Frederick Seebohm, entitled "International Reform." In this work there is a full and exhaustive discussion of the whole subject, and it contains practical suggestions which, in the judgment of the committee, are of the wisest and most sagacious character. But after all—perhaps better than all theories—are the practical illustrations afforded, from time to time, that there is on the part of Governments and nations an honest desire to avoid appealing to brute force—there is no insurmountable difficulty in the way of finding a more rational solution. Referring to the present position of the Treaty of Washington, the hon. gentleman said: If, as the committee devoutly hope, the tribunal which has been constituted for adjudicating upon the conflicting claims of the two nations shall conduct the whole case to a successful and happy issue, who can tell but that this tribunal—which of course is quite capable of development and encouragement, and of being rendered permanent and of universal application—who can tell but here may be found the germ of the beginning of that universal congress of great nations which many have long hoped to see and realise, and which will at last, perhaps, give reality to the splendid vision of our own Poet Laureate—

When the war drums throb no longer,
And the battle flags are furled;

In the Parliament of Man,
The Federation of the World.

When the common sense of man
Shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber,
Wrapped in universal Law.

(Cheers.) In this trust the committee are willing to work on in the face of difficulty and disappointment and hope deferred. They are not ashamed to avow their faith in the promises of God and in a brighter future for humanity. They refuse to accept that gospel of despair, which proclaims that there is no prospect that man shall ever escape from the degrading domination of brute force. They believe that man has been endowed by his Maker with reason and conscience and human affection, and the sublime capacity of religion, for some other and better purpose than that he should be used as a mere tool and implement in the hands of military despots for the slaughter of his fellow-men. (Cheers.) They believe, and on the authority of a greater Seer than Tennyson, that there is a better time coming for man and for the world—a time such as earth never yet saw, such as Heaven stoops down to see—a time glorious and blessed, which will never have an end, when nation shall not lift up hand against nation, and when they shall not learn war any more. (Very great applause.)

Mr. RICHARD then read the balance-sheet, from which it appeared that there was a balance to the credit of the society amounting to 497l. 15s. 2d.

The Rev. G. W. CONDER moved:—

That this meeting regards the recent terrible war on the continent of Europe as furnishing a louder call than ever on the friends of peace to redouble their exertions to imbue the public mind in all countries with a just sense of the infinite folly and wickedness of war, the more especially as it is becoming increasingly evident that the chief hope of bringing this evil to an end must rest, not on the wisdom and moderation of rulers, but on the increased enlightenment and morality of peoples.

The rev. gentleman supported the resolution in a eloquent speech of considerable length.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON, Bart., M.P., seconded the resolution. He thought there was something in a meeting like the present, both sad and encouraging. He saw in the papers that this was the fifty-fifth anniversary, and it was very sad to think that the great principles endorsed, proclaimed, and advocated by the society had made comparatively little progress during that time. It was sad to think, too, that they met at the conclusion of one of the most wicked, most horrid, and the most bloody wars which had ever desolated Europe—the echoes of which had hardly yet died away, and the horrors of which were finding their conclusion in the bloody scenes which were being enacted at Paris at that moment. All that was sad, but there was another thing in connection with it quite as sad, which was that during all that horrid war there had been found in this country writers in the press who instead of condemning the whole thing from beginning to end, had fancied that they had found in it something to applaud and admire in the wickedness and degradation of the contending armies. But it was encouraging to see a meeting like that, in the midst of such adverse circumstances, met together to declare their unshaken and unalterable conviction that the principles of that society were the true ones, and must at length prevail. It was encouraging to see them staunch as ever to the views which their reason had led them to adopt. Another thing in which he (the hon. baronet) saw hope, was the amount of light which had been thrown upon war and all its horrors by the press during the last twelve months. Never before had the realities of all that barbarous and bloody proceeding been brought so closely home to them, and more closely revealed to the people of this country, by those able gentlemen who had supplied the news to the daily papers. All that must to a certainty work in the public mind. Another thing which would have a powerful influence on the people was the additional 2d. income-tax. That would come home to a good many of them. He did not object so very much to that 2d. income-tax. If they would have glory and honour and drums and trumpets they must pay for them, and when they were paying their 2d. they would perhaps begin to think whether they were getting their money's worth. (Cheers.) The great thing to do was to get people to think on these subjects, and when they did that there might be hope that they would before long think right. Why should they go on making all those deadly and desperate preparations for the destruction of their fellow-creatures? (Hear, hear.) They were told over and over again by those in authority in the House of Commons, of the enormous strength of their defences and their fleet—stronger than any two fleets in the world—yet they were called upon to add thousands of men to the army and millions of pounds to the expenditure of the country. When he heard these things brought forward he began to think that those in authority must have some other design than simply the defence of their country. The old idea of prestige lingered in the minds of their statesmen, and he was delighted to hear the Lord Chancellor the other day at one of the City feasts declare the truth. He said, "I am tired of all this talk about prestige. What does it mean? It is only the English word for what in America they call buncombe." He (the hon. baronet) believed there was no prestige worthy of pursuing in getting up large armies and large fleets to go swaggering about the world, declaring they were stronger and more able to kill men than any other Power was. The only honour, in his opinion, was in keeping out of quarrels. (Cheers.) Was it the bully, the swaggerer, and the braggart, in private

life that they honoured? No, it was the man who passed through life in peace and love with his fellow-men. (Cheers.) So ought it to be with nations, and the man he would call a statesman was not he who would raise armaments by the grinding taxation of his fellow-countrymen, and was able to bully other nations, but the man who, by his wise, beneficent, temperate, and just policy, kept his countrymen out of those wars which we so much lament. But even supposing war, under any circumstances, to be necessary, it should not be entered upon with a light heart, as was the case with the French Prime Minister, but rather with gloom and sadness. He hoped the day would come when the destruction of human life should never be considered a glory or an honour, for he believed that the martyr spirit was infinitely more noble and beneficial than the martial spirit. (Cheers.)

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., moved:—

That this meeting, while proclaiming its cordial gratitude to Her Majesty's Government for their resolute adherence to the principle of non-intervention during the late war, and for their pacific solution of the Russian difficulty, cannot but express their deepest surprise and regret at the enormous addition, amounting to nearly four millions sterling, they have made in the military expenditure of the year, in deference to a groundless and senseless panic, in which the country at large never participated.

He did not think he could quite get himself up to the level of feeling which was expressed in that resolution. It spoke of "our cordial gratitude" being due to the Government for having managed skilfully and well certain foreign difficulties which they had recently met. He respected the Government for what they had done. Probably his feelings did not go beyond that. If they (the Government) had done otherwise than they had, he was afraid he should have had feelings of the strongest contempt in regard to them. They did their duty, which he did not think was very difficult in such a case for men of ordinary ability with some fair consciousness of what was due to their own countrymen. Surely nobody would have expected them to have gone into a second Crimean war. It was not as easy as some persons thought to have drifted into the first. Anybody who would read the history of that time would find that there were various steps at which it was quite possible to have avoided that war, and which in all probability would never have taken place, but for the sinister objects of three men in Europe, one of whom had recently occupied the Throne of France, the other two being Englishmen. With regard to the American settlement which had been very highly spoken of, and very justly so, he believed it was necessary that such a settlement should be made, and any Minister—whether on this side the Atlantic or the other—who in the future should take the first step towards placing these two great kindred countries in a state of war, would be either a fool or a criminal, or probably both. (Cheers.) The second part of the resolution dealt with the unfortunate circumstance that the Government had largely added to the expenditure and therefore to the taxation of the country. For that the Government was greatly to blame—next to the Government the House of Commons was to blame for it—and next to the House of Commons the constituents because they had not taken strenuous means to prevent the Government doing such a gigantic act of folly. Why was that large sum of two millions voted at the end of last session of Parliament? It was not because the country was in any danger—nobody pretended it—nobody would wish to place himself in so imbecile a position as to pretend it. So far as he understood the question, it had reference to their position with regard to Belgium, and that immediately raised the question of intervention or non-intervention as a principle and a point of policy in this country. If there were any persons present who thought they were bound at any day, and under any circumstances, to defend Belgium, would they tell him whether there were any other nations with equal rights? They must know that we had guarantees all over the world, and if it came to be a question of the weakness of a nation or nations with free institutions, requiring at a certain crisis their support, he would turn their attention to Denmark, to Holland, to Norway, to Sweden, and it might be to other places, in case of what was called "a necessity," to defend all those countries against all-comers. But if that principle were laid down, then where were they? The working-man of this country had then better leave this country. (Cheers.) He had better go to some other—some distant region—where no principle like that was evoked, and where he would not be likely at any moment to be called upon to spend his earnings in a manner which gave him not the least control as to the effect of what it should produce. He would not say that he was in favour of "peace at any price," but he was in favour of something very much like it: he was in favour of this country minding its own affairs, and not undertaking to go to war except in defence of its own vital interests. He was in favour of that—first, because it was to the interest of this country that it should not interfere in the affairs of other countries, and so be dragged into war; and, secondly, because he never knew a case in which any benefit had accrued to anybody by reason of England taking an opposite policy. What had they gained by past wars? At this moment there was not a man, woman, or child in England (who earned anything) who did not give an hour's labour every day to pay for the interest of debts contracted by past wars, and for the maintenance of the machinery of war which at present existed in this country. One of the greatest misfortunes, not only of the people of this country, but almost of

every country, was that they laboured too much, physically, mentally, and morally. They are degraded by an over amount of work, and they would never have a population living in that state of civilisation of which some of them dreamed sometimes, until men and women everywhere worked less than they do now. There were other arguments of a more material kind which might be used in favour of peace, and against interfering in the affairs of others. No nation was so dependent as England upon foreign intercourse and commerce for supplies received from all parts of the world. Then, again, England could not go to war without placing her gigantic colonies in a position of great anxiety and some peril, and they, it should be remembered, have no influence upon the fact as to whether we should go to war or not. They were entirely at the mercy of England, and he (the hon. gentleman) held that those colonies presented an additional reason why the people of this country should never get hot-headed upon the subject of war, but should discuss it as temperately as possible. (Cheers.) He was as hopeful probably as a man ought to be in this matter, and he thought there were great signs of progress visible. Since 1815 England had never broken the peace (so far as entering into war with any European Power was concerned) but once during that period of more than half a century. They had had two years' war, which was a great blunder, if not a great crime, and some of the most influential of those who assisted to get us into that war have declared over and over again that it was a great blunder; and that was surely proof that they were making great progress, and which he remembered what occurred during last winter or late autumn, after the receipt of the Russian Note, it gave him very great confidence. The press was not wise, and he did not know why they should expect the press always to be wise, seeing that it was conducted by men like themselves. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. SAMUEL BOWLY seconded the resolution. He vowed himself a man of peace at any price, and was not ashamed to confess it, seeing that if he denied it he would deny his Christianity. His Christianity cost some of the apostles their lives, and might cost some of them their lives possibly, but it should not be on the battle-field. He was a total abstainer—from war. (Laughter and cheers.) He found people saying what a wretched thing war was, and how they were suffering from it on the continent, and what an evil thing it was—but they were not "totalitarians" from war notwithstanding. They seemed to defend a little war "in moderation." He found people talking about intoxicating drinks, and the terrible evils of intemperance, and what mischief it was doing, and what legislation they wanted; but they drank a little notwithstanding; and he wanted them to be abstainers, at any cost, from drink and fighting. (Cheers.)

Mr. HENRY VINCENT moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting hail with unfeigned satisfaction the intelligence which has just reached this country, that the Commissioners appointed by Great Britain and the United States, have agreed on a method of arbitration for settling the pending differences between the two countries; and earnestly hope that the tribunal they have chosen will not only satisfactorily dispose of the questions referred to them, but prove a precedent for the establishment of a permanent international tribunal, so that the differences of nations may be referred to the decision of reason and justice, instead of the blind and brutal arbitrament of war.

He said: A journey from Carmarthen in South Wales has somewhat exhausted me, and yet I feel it a privilege and a pleasure to stand on this platform and proclaim my own adhesion to the cause of peace, on the ground of Christianity and on the ground of the essential liquidity and sufficiency of war. (Cheers.) Of course it must be remembered that the great principle enunciated by the gentleman who just addressed you—a principle binding on the conscience of those who believe it, and thus becoming to every Christian believer an individual truth like every other truth taught by the Gospel of Jesus Christ—it must be obvious that this truth can never prevail in the world until you have multiplied the number of those who accept it as a Christian truth and a Christian principle. (Hear, hear.) And when gentlemen speak of Utopian theories, they must remember that the Peace Society does not expect to realise the glorious mission that is before it until the Christian churches themselves accept this great truth, and instead of conniving at the principle of war boldly proclaim from their pulpits that the design of the Gospel is to uproot all evil, to uproot all sin, to overthrow all iniquity, to destroy all violence, to abolish all standing armies. (Cheers.) Now there are those here who will bear witness that I have never scrupled, as an independent citizen, to criticise the merits of great questions, even when submitted to the doubtful and bloody arbitrament of the sword. A belief in the principles of peace does not absolve me from my duties as a citizen—hence I have always believed that by the side of these peace principles, and the ground taken by the hon. member for Manchester, who, with a caution that you must all respect, guarded himself against making a profession beyond the clearest conception of his own mind—you must remember that he, of all men living, not even excepting his illustrious brother—(great applause)—whose absence from Parliament we so much deplore, is anxious in his character as a politician and a statesman to preach the consideration of this question in the light of what may be called the higher form of political philosophy, and the most practical conceptions of just government. (Hear, hear.) Hence to-night I rejoice that I can move to

you for your adoption a resolution that congratulates you upon the settlement of all disputes between England and America, and on the fact that the two Governments, without at all touching the fundamental questions involved in the peace organisation, have agreed to submit certain difficult questions to the arbitration of neutral intelligence. Gentlemen, this is the ground upon which we can stand as citizens, as Christians in our individual capacity, as men of faith on our knees in prayer before God in humble adoration, in intercourse with our fellow-creatures, and even occasionally in mixed assemblies: we can unfurl the banner of the Prince of Peace, and we can say that neither arbitration nor any other political grappling with this question can be finally successful: that there can be no permanent victory of the cause of peace until the roots of envy, hatred—national hatred—are extracted from the hearts of men and the hearts of nations. But has not the time come when a practical statesmanship may see through the fortunate occurrence of circumstances in the approaching very cordial alliance between America and England, an opening—a providential opening—for the more favourable consideration of this great question. Ladies and gentlemen, I have passed four times through the United States, spending nearly three years in that country, and addressing 500 public assemblies in all parts of the Union from the State of New York to the city of San Francisco, and I never referred to the bad blood that had been created between England and America, I never referred to the great traditions of the two countries, to our community of language, of literature, or of liberty, without awakening in the breasts of the American people those emotions that will always respond to kindly endeavours to bring the people and the Governments of the two countries together in the strongest bonds of esteem and affection. (Cheers.)

Mr. Vincent proceeded to advocate the creation of a confederation between those who believed in peace principles on the grounds of Christianity and those who believed in war as the greatest of human crimes, and the bringing of those two great forces together in England and America, and when the treaty of peace should be ratified by the Crown of England and the Government of America, then why not urge upon both countries to press upon the attention of France, Germany, Russia, and Austria, the importance of a convention which might be new in history, but which would be none the less worthy of the great age in which they lived—a convention that would agree upon mutual disarmament, a convention that should agree to create a high court of arbitration before which the nations should go to settle their disputes in time of conflict? He had a firm conviction that they were much nearer to the realisation of that than some people believed. Referring to the statement made by some people with reference to the ambition of Germany, Mr. Vincent said he scoffed the notion that because Germany, under the force of terrible circumstances, had been able to unite her people largely under the Government, that therefore she would become the armed enemy of all other races. (Cheers.) He maintained that there was no ground for such a supposition. Was it the case after Waterloo that England went to war with every other nation under the sun merely because she had, in conjunction with her allies, put down the power and military ambition of Bonaparte? He had a higher conception of the German people, a higher conception of their history and moral character, and their higher philosophical tendencies. He thought it would be admitted that if the Duke of Wellington had offered himself to the metropolis of London as a candidate for election after the battle of Waterloo, from all that was known of what was called the patriotic feeling of the people, the Duke of Wellington would have been elected by an overwhelming majority, and yet the other day one of the greatest men in Germany, who might be spoken of highly as a man of science, though he had devoted it to the terrible power of war—he meant Count von Moltke—when he put himself forward as a candidate for Berlin, citizens were ready to crown him with laurels, to give him money for what he had done, to shower honour and rank upon him, but they would not elect him as their representative,—(great applause)—they preferred to elect a civilian, because said they, the business of legislation should be in the hands of civilians and not of military rulers. So long as the English people ran after the colonels and admirals, it was not to be expected that the latter would neglect their own interests in the House of Commons. If they sent a body of curriers, a hundred men having a great interest in leather, and the question of leather came up, would they be surprised if they declared that there was nothing like leather? (Cheers and laughter.) The people used to elect landowners to serve in Parliament in the days of rotten boroughs, and what did they do for us? They surrounded the Houses of Lords and Commons with cavalry and foot-soldiers, and gave us the Corn Laws as the reward for fighting well during the French war. They must not blame them. The fault lay in the nation tolerating the existence of rotten boroughs. He was not surprised, and he had no doubt his friend the honourable member for Merthyr was not surprised, when they had that family party in the House of Commons clamouring for more defences. It was time to stop the mouths of those interested people by the cry of common sense from the taxpayers, and the merchants, and bankers, and tradesmen, and workmen of England.

If the Peace people had been guilty of what these people were guilty of, they would have had the mobs turned out upon them in some of the towns, and been treated to a shower of rotten eggs; but it was the Horse Guards, the men who were responsible for our military system—they went all round the House of Commons with military caps in their hands shaking them before the representatives of the towns and saying, "Gentlemen, we only want four millions more, we cannot take care of you for twenty-six millions—the thing cannot be done—(cheers and laughter)—though the old Duke of Wellington, who knew something of war, managed the job for eleven millions a year; but the family has grown more numerous since that, and the thing cannot be done." I tell some (Mr. Vincent continued) of these noble and courtly gentlemen that if there was a pathway to America about three yards wide, nineteen-twentieths of the taxpayers to-morrow would be off to America with bundles on their backs, saying, "We cannot afford the money, and if we were men of sense we should not afford it." But to come to the point, Ladies and gentlemen, let every believer in the Christian character of peace proclaim that principle. Do not go out of the way to lawn upon a false view of Christian teaching; do not bring the blood-stained banner into your church, but leave it outside, on the pavement, in the world, among worldly men, contenting on worldly ground, and even there on that worldly ground say, "Oh, brethren, has not the time come to take a practical step in that direction and settle all disputes by more human and rational means?" For myself I have faith in the future. March on in your firm faith; march on in the conviction that a great and glorious day shall yet come. The forces of the future are not the juggernauts of armed force. In the future, behind all thrones and above all principalities, and republics, and states, I see the great principles of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ triumphant in the souls of men, and the day shall come when those principles shall abolish all the forces on which war stands, and the earth shall be filled with light, and life, and liberty. (Great applause.)

Mr. SNARE seconded the resolution.

The proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

TURKISH MISSIONS AID SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this society was held on Thursday last week at Willis's Rooms, the Earl of Shaftesbury in the chair.

The SECRETARY (the Rev. H. Jones) read the report, which stated that, in addition to other agencies, 149 American missionaries, male and female, and 337 native pastors and teachers, many of whom had been supported wholly or in part by this society, had been engaged during the year in unfolding the sacred truths of the Gospel; that most of the principal centres of the Turkish empire were now occupied as mission stations, and that native agents from the Nestorian Mission were now employed, and had met with very encouraging success in the north-west of Persia; others, from the Armenian Mission, had entered Southern Russia, and others, from the Syrian Mission, were being educated as medical missionaries to labour amongst the Bedouin and other Arab tribes of the desert. Printing presses, Bible and tract depositories, theological colleges, and schools have been established in various important centres. Sixty-five evangelical churches have been organised, thirty-one of which are now self-supporting and independent; and such is the influence of the truth exemplified in the lives of thousands who have embraced it, that Mahomedan darkness and blind superstition are gradually yielding to its power. Letters of missionaries addressed to the society from the Western, Eastern, and Central Turkey Missions, and also from the Persian (formerly "Nestorian") Mission were read in illustration of the above, and the report concluded with the following important statement of the Armenian representative at the Porte of the whole Protestant community in Turkey:—"I have travelled," says he, "a great deal among the Protestants of Syria and Turkey, and the strongest impression I have does not arise from the schools, books, or churches, as pledges that Protestantism is to be a success in Turkey, but from the prodigious extent to which the country at large is leavened by Protestant truth. The grandest results of your labours are not at all apparent." The income of the society during the year amounted to 2,242l. 6s. 4d., from which grants to a considerable amount had been made to each of the principal missions, the valuable and opportune aid afforded by which was acknowledged by the missionaries in terms of deep gratitude and thankfulness.

The Rev. S. A. WALKER, incumbent of St. Mary-le-Port, Bristol, moved the first resolution, viz.:

That this meeting desires to express its gratitude to God for the very encouraging progress of the missions aided by this society, and prays that He will continue His watchful care over them. The meeting also expresses its approval of the report, an abstract of which has been read, and its desire that it may be printed and circulated.

Mr. JOHN MACGREGOR, in seconding the resolution, testified from observation to the peculiar adaptation of the American missionaries for the work in which they were engaged. That society's aid was, it should be remembered, not confined to those missionaries, but extended, as far as the funds permitted, to other evangelising agencies; and just as the Ragged School Union and the Reformatory and Refuge Union were each a medium

through which the liberality of Christians was distributed for beneficent purposes in England, so the Turkish Missions Aid Society was an appropriate and useful medium for what was entrusted to them for evangelisation in the East.

The Rev. Dr. PORTER, author of "The Giant Cities of Bashan," in supporting the resolution, said he was glad to stand on a platform where he was united with others in pleading for such a great and good Christian work. He himself was a Presbyterian; others there belonged to the Established Church, and some, no doubt, to other religious denominations in this country; but they were all united in the prosecution of one of the noblest enterprises in which a Christian could engage. Having visited Constantinople and Smyrna, and been connected with a mission at Damascus and the Pashalik of Damascus for a period of ten years, he could speak, not merely from what he had heard from others, but from personal knowledge. He saw the whole mission work at Constantinople. He saw the high school which was established at Bebec, and which had done a noble work in training young natives for missionary labours. The great object of the American missionaries was, in fact, not so much to carry on mission work themselves as to prepare natives to carry it on, going forth among various provinces, cities, and villages of the Turkish empire with the glad tidings of salvation by Christ.

The Rev. LL. D. BEVAN, minister of the Whitfield Tabernacle, Tottenham-court-road, who also supported the resolution, dwelt upon the claims of the East to Evangelising efforts, arising from the fact that the Gospel was first proclaimed there, and had spread thence to the West.

The CHAIRMAN, in the course of a hearty speech, said:—Mention is made in the report of the great number of native teachers and missionaries. That is the grandest principle of all connected with mission work; and I believe it will be found most effective if carried out in the East. The training of native teachers and of a native agency is a positive right of the people. You have no business to go into these countries and monopolise the teaching yourselves. (Hear, hear.) It is your duty to those among whom you go to endeavour to put them into such a condition that in the spheres which they may severally occupy they will lead useful lives, and by their piety, education, and intelligence exercise a useful influence over others. (Cheers.) There is, I believe, in this room a young Syrian who has taken a degree of medicine in America and also in Scotland, and who is going back to Syria to practise as medical man among his countrymen. What a useful thing it will be to send to the East a man like that whose mind is imbued with the spirit of the Gospel! (Hear, hear.) I cannot conceive a greater boon being conferred on the natives. The Gospel is, of course, first in importance; but perhaps next to that comes a knowledge of the art of medicine and the power of practising it. That is a magnificent combination, and remember it is a greater combination in those Eastern countries, where there is such reverence for those who are skilled in the art of medicine, than it is here. I hear of the American missionaries constantly from persons who have been in the East, and everything which such persons say proves that they generally are as singular a combination of piety, intellect, and good common sense as can be found on the face of the earth. (Cheers.) Mr. Macgregor said that if I went to America I should be torn in pieces. Well, I can only say that I have such an affection for the American people, and such a desire to see them, that if I were a wee bit younger I would give them the opportunity of doing that, and take my chance. (Cheers and laughter.)

Dr. TOMKINS moved the next resolution, viz. :—

That this meeting rejoice in the openings for the spread of the Gospel in Persia, and calls upon all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in this country to combine with their brethren in America in advancing the Redeemer's kingdom throughout the East.

He said that having crossed the Atlantic twelve times, and having enjoyed the personal acquaintance of three Presidents and of many other leading Americans, he could testify how true the heart of that nation was to the mother country. Only that day he had received from the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher a letter expressive of tender love and sympathy for Great Britain. The speaker went on to express special interest in Persia as a field for evangelising efforts.

Dr. LEFLUVI, the Syrian medical gentleman referred to by the chairman, briefly seconded the resolution, which was adopted. The meeting was then closed with the benediction.

BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AMONG THE JEWS.

The seventy-eighth annual meeting of this society was held on Monday, May 7, at St. George's Hall, Langham-place. In the absence of Lord Alfred Churchill, the president of the society, W. G. Habershon, Esq., the treasurer, presided. Prayer was offered by the Rev. J. Wilkinson.

The Rev. JOHN GILL, secretary, read the report, which expressed undiminished belief in the efficacy of the Gospel in the conversion of the Jew under every conceivable variety of moral, social, and mental condition. Although the number of baptisms in connection with the mission during the year had been only thirteen, that by no means represented the full extent of the influence exerted by the society. Hundreds have listened to the Gospel, and numbers have given evident signs of its impression on their hearts. Several have emigrated to distant lands, intending there to

identify themselves with the followers of Christ. "Some of the most interesting fruits of this mission have been gathered in the society's schools. In Turkey, not only have the high officials of the Government given their public testimony to the value of these institutions, but the influences of Christian instruction and training have manifested themselves in some of the children, Gentile as well as Jewish, in a most decided form; and the parents or older brothers and sisters have sometimes been gained over to the truth by this means. In Hungary, too, the school established through the assistance of this society, and conducted by two Christian Jewesses, is attracting the daughters of the more affluent class of Jews, and it is a cause for great encouragement to think that the characters of those who will ere long be occupying important positions in Jewish society, are being formed under the hands of intelligent and kindly Christian women." The success of this experiment has induced the committee to make further effort in the same direction in Galicia. The Rev. J. Löwitz, missionary in Algeria, had visited Jews and Turcos in the military hospitals of Germany. "The disinterested kindness shown by Dr. Philip in the calamity caused by the overflow of the Tiber has opened the houses and the hearts of the Roman Jews for his visits, and even the little children in the Ghetto give him a smile of welcome when he enters their homes." The Rev. Professor Davidson has been appointed superintendent of the society's Home at Leyton. Thirty-three have received the advantages of the institution since it was opened, little more than a year ago, twenty-seven of whom have left, and six still remain. The report concluded by demanding that as now the number of conversions from among the Jews could no longer be denied or doubted, in justice to thousands of brethren and sisters who had passed through seas of trouble to "win Christ and be found in Him," the groundless and unchristian slur which had been thrown on Jewish converts should be in future withdrawn and abandoned. Three agents of the society are labouring in London—one at Birmingham and Hull; one at Bristol, Exeter, and Cardiff; one at Manchester. The foreign stations of the society's agents are Adrianople, Austria and Hungary, Breslau, Heidelberg, Italy, Königsberg, North Africa, Nuremberg, Paris, Rostochuk, Stettin, Wallachia and Wurtemberg. Four Christian Jewesses are labouring as missionaries in Hungary and Galicia, and a mission recently established in Russian Poland by a Polish gentleman residing in Warsaw, is aided from the society's funds. The financial statement showed that the income for the year was 8,023*l.*, including a balance carried over from last year of 674*l.* The expenditure of the year had been 6,945*l.*, leaving a balance in hand of 1,078*l.*

The Rev. H. A. STERN, missionary in Abyssinia, in moving the adoption of the report, expressed the opinion that among the many claims which are brought before Christian people this society has a right to a distinguished place. It might be said, "Jews' societies have existed for some years, and where are your converts, where your Hebrew Christian congregations?" In reply, it should be remembered that missions among the Jews have a marked distinction from missions among the heathen. The Jews mingle with all people, and have no special home. If a Jew became a Christian, he did not cease to be a merchant, lawyer, or shopkeeper, but carried on his avocation as before, only mingling a little more with Christians. In the Episcopal Jews' Chapel, in forty or fifty years, there have been baptized, of adult Jews, Jewesses, and children, 1,200. In Germany, where the Jews exist in great numbers, converted Jews might be found in the councils of kings, in the halls of learning, in chambers of commerce, in the Church and University—men who are adorning the Gospel of God their Saviour. As examples he might refer to the late Professor Neander and Minister Stahl. Only three days ago he heard a missionary say that in the University of Berlin there are twenty-seven professors who were Hebrew Christians. When he first visited Constantinople, where there are 70,000 to 80,000 Spanish Jews, the Christian missionary had to encounter great obstacles, and if he ventured in one of their houses to speak to them of Christ, might have been very certain of a rapid and ignominious expulsion. Here, however, might now be found a spirit of inquiry among them, and even in Abyssinia there were indications that the scales were falling from their eyes. One of the recently returned missionaries reports the existence among Christian converts of a deep yearning for the conversion of their people. He looked forward to the day when those magnificent mountain ranges and delightful valleys would become a focus of Gospel knowledge. The standard of the Gospel is raised in every land where the tempest of persecution has scattered the exiles of Zion, and there were in many quarters symptoms of returning life. He denounced that selfish charity on the part of Christians who would refuse to aid in this work, on the groundless supposition that the conversion of the Jews must be the result of a miracle, and not of the blessing of the Spirit upon human instrumentality. (Cheers.)

Rev. G. MARTIN and Rev. H. QUICK, of Brighton, delivered earnest addresses in advocacy of the claims of the society.

Mr. T. B. SMITHIES, in seconding the appointment of a committee, mentioned that he had been assured by one who had opportunities of judging that there is a vast change coming over the Jews of England, and many were seeking friendly converse on the great question of Christianity. He exhorted

Christians not to look coldly on the Jews, but to exhibit towards them the lovingkindness of Christ. (Applause.)

LAY PREACHERS TRAINING ASSOCIATION.—The annual meeting of this association was held on Tuesday, May 16, at the Mission Hall, Queens-square, Westminster. After the members of the classes had taken tea, J. H. Gladstone, Ph.D., F.R.S., was placed in the chair, when prayer was offered by Mr. Kirkham, secretary of the Open-Air Mission, and the Rev. Charles Gilbert, honorary secretary, read the report. After the usual resolutions had been adopted a conference was held, when strong testimony was given by the members of the class as to the benefit they had derived from the lectures, and as the autumn, winter, and spring course of lectures were now completed, a unanimous desire was expressed for their being resumed next autumn.

THE BAND OF HOPE UNION held its sixteenth annual meeting on Tuesday evening, in Exeter Hall, under the presidency of Mr. M. R. Dalway, M.P. The great hall was crowded to excess, the back of the platform being occupied by a choir of 700 voices, selected from the senior members of the band, who sang a number of pieces during the evening. The Rev. G. W. M'Cree, the secretary, read the report, which stated that during the year there had been a great amount of work done in the metropolis and the provinces. The balance-sheet showed an income of 2,069*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, and an expenditure of 1,781*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*, leaving a balance of 288*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* in favour of the Union. Addresses were given by the Revs. S. Antliff, A. Hall (Edmonton), J. G. Gregson (Portsea), Hugh Huleatt (Chaplain to the Forces, Woolwich), and Dr. R. Martin (Warrington).

THE COW-CROSS MISSION.—The ninth annual meeting of this Mission, under the presidency of Earl of Shaftesbury, was held on Monday week at Exeter Hall. The noble Chairman, in opening the proceedings, explained that the principal objects of the meeting were to hear read the annual report of the society, and to raise funds in aid of the Cow-cross Mission, free schools, infant nursery, soup kitchen, &c. The Rev. W. Boardman then read the report and the audited balance-sheet, which showed a balance due to the treasurer of 317*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* The report pointed out that the funds most urgently needed were 50*l.* for alterations and improvements in the "People's Mission Hall," salaries for schoolmaster and mistress, also for an assistant missionary to visit among a thousand families and twenty factories, and 25*l.* for a meal to 1000 poor people in honour of the anniversary. The Chairman read a letter from Lord Ebury, enclosing a cheque for five guineas. The Rev. G. M. Murphy moved, and Mr. Rivington seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

That in the judgment of this meeting, the report of the Cow-cross Mission contains abundant and conclusive evidence that God has chosen its agents to aid in evangelising and converting the teeming masses in the very centre of the great metropolis.

Mr. Catlin, the secretary, having spoken in support of the resolution, the Chairman, in acknowledging the usual vote of thanks, proposed by the Rev. D. Fraser, made an earnest appeal on the part of the mission for public assistance and support.

THE DEACONESSES' INSTITUTION.—Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., presided on Saturday at the third annual meeting of the Tottenham Deaconesses' Institution and Training Hospital. It was stated that during the period that the hospital has been in existence, more than 800 in-patients have been admitted, about 400 of them during the past year. The out-patients, who this year number no fewer than 6,000, are seen four times a week. Four of the sisters, with Dr. Laserson, went to the continent during the late war, and rendered important services in the field-hospitals and lazarettos. One of these sisters fell a victim to her exertions, the cause of her death being an attack of dysentery. The funds of the institution were not, it was stated, in a flourishing condition, and Mr. John Morley (brother of the chairman) had announced his intention of presenting a donation of 1,000*l.*, to be applied to the reduction of a debt of 2,000*l.* owing to the bankers. Mr. Samuel Morley expressed his regret that the sympathies of the English people had been so far diverted by the course of affairs on the continent as to allow the funds of an institution so deserving and praiseworthy as that of the Protestant Deaconesses to fall so low. He had much pleasure in seconding the donation of his brother with a gift of equal amount, in addition to a yearly subscription of 100*l.* The meeting was also addressed by the Rev. T. Binney, the Rev. Mr. May, the Rev. Mr. Rosenthal, the Rev. Mr. Denham Smith, the Rev. Mr. Foy, and Count Bernstorff.

ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE FOR INFANTS.—The sixth annual meeting and election of the above institution were held on Thursday at the City Terminus Hotel, Cannon-street, under the presidency of Alderman Sir Sydney Waterlow, Mr. Joseph Soul, the secretary, read the report, which stated there were at present 110 infants in the Orphanage, and eight more would be admitted with the present election. Much sickness prevailed amongst the children in the early part of last year, and at one time there were forty-nine cases of measles, but all the children recovered under the care of the honorary physician. The infants' instruction is well maintained. The children who have left the institution, having completed their full time, were twenty-six in number, of whom seventeen have been admitted into

other institutions, and all had been satisfactorily provided for. There had been only three deaths during the six years the charity has existed. The average annual cost of each child is 13l. 19s. 8d. "I have had some experience in a great many institutions," said the chairman, "and I can only say that I know none more economically managed than this has been." The committee acknowledge the donation of 1,000l. from "T. N." Of the eight cottages forming the orphanage, four, capable of accommodating 100 infants, still remain empty for want of sufficient funds; and there is still a debt of 9,000l. hanging over the charity, towards the liquidation of which a special subscription is now being raised. The total income for the past year, including a loan of 2,000l. from the bankers, had been 5,784l. 12s. 10d.; and the expenditure, including 3,500l. paid in connection with the building account, had been 5,736l. 5s. 8d., leaving a balance of 48l. 7s. 2d. The report having been adopted, a very cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Joseph Soul, the hon. secretary, and to his daughter, Miss Soul, for the valuable and gratuitous services they had rendered to the charity during the last seven years. The election was then proceeded with.

For remainder of Anniversary Meetings see Supplement.

Postscript.

Wednesday, May 24, 1871.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT BILLS.

At the day sitting of the House of Commons yesterday, Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply to Sir John Gray, said that as far as the Government were concerned, it was their firm and final intention to persevere with the Army Bill and the Ballot Bill until the House had pronounced a definite judgment upon them, without any reference to time whatever. (Cheers.) This might not be an altogether agreeable announcement, because it might mean the prospect of a session prolonged beyond the usual time. The Government, however, were of opinion that there were considerations of public principle and public duty involved in this matter which gave them no alternative, and if they were supported by a majority of the House, they should give full effect to the intention which he had just announced. (Cheers.)

THE DERBY DAY.

Mr. GLADSTONE moved that the House, on its rising, should adjourn till Thursday.

Mr. T. HUGHES thought that the custom of adjourning over the Derby-day was one which would be honoured more in the breach than in the observance. He would not interfere with the present motion, but he gave notice that if a similar motion were made in any future year he should take the sense of the House upon it. (Loud cheers.)

THE UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL.

On the motion for considering the Lords' amendments to this bill, Mr. C. BENTINCK rose to move that the consideration of the amendments be postponed until Thursday next. He took the opportunity of protesting against the recently-introduced practice of having morning sittings at such an early period of the session. The privileges of independent members were sacrificed in order to suit the convenience of the Government, whose whole policy from the time they took office had been a failure. Sir H. SELWYN-IBBETSON, without going so far as the previous speaker, thought the growing custom of holding morning sittings deserved the consideration of the House. Mr. RYLANDS said the country was beginning to see that the policy adopted by the Opposition with reference to the Army Bill was an obstructive policy, and he hailed with satisfaction the statement of the Prime Minister that the session should be prolonged rather than such a factious course should be successful. Mr. GLADSTONE said he must pass by, with patience and long-suffering, the many charges of incapacity which had been made against the Government. He admitted that the hardships of private members were great, but the Government felt bound, in order to proceed with the business of the House, to propose to have morning sittings immediately after the White-tide recess, to be continued as long as they were necessary. Mr. DISRAELI said that, without question, public business was in a very unsatisfactory condition. If business was to be satisfactorily carried on, the privileges of private members must not be interfered with unnecessarily. With respect to the debates on the Army Bill, he thought hon. members were fully justified in freely discussing the merits of the measure. But the great vindication of these discussions was that every division which took place on the Army Bill showed a more balanced state of opinion. (Cheers.)

The amendment was then negatived without a division.

Mr. GLADSTONE moved that the House disagree with Clause A, which was inserted by the House of Lords on the motion of the Marquis of Salisbury. The clause contained a declaration to be made by every tutor, lecturer, &c., on his appointment, to the effect that whilst holding office he would not teach anything contrary to the teaching or Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures. Mr. Gladstone contended that the proposed test was vague and

impracticable, and could only be used in a negative form.

Mr. WALPOLE admitted it was desirable that some end should be put to this controversy. (Hear, hear.) They had always contended for two principles. One was, that religion should form a part and indeed be the basis of education; the other, that all students should be admitted to every privilege and advantage that was consistent with the first principle of connecting education with religion. He did not think that a negative test was inconsistent with this principle. But he admitted there was a difficulty in the wording of this clause which might hamper the consciences of those who afterwards took fellowships or deanships under this bill. He was also told by those most opposed to the bill that the adoption of this new test might give rise to renewed agitation. He would not, therefore, divide the House on the motion to disagree to it.

Col. CLIFFORD thanked the right hon. member for Cambridge for the course he had indicated his intention to take. The Liberal party were unanimous in opposing this test.

Mr. O. MORGAN also opposed the clause.

Mr. G. HARDY said his own view was, the governing bodies in the colleges should be denominational. But both branches of the legislature had cut that ground from under his feet. He did not think that a test would be of much use. What he wanted, and what he thought the Government would consent to, was that there should be some distinctive religious act expressing the mind of the college in each college, and that a person should be appointed to see that act done. With regard to this clause of the Lords, he did not see that it afforded him any solution of the problem or secured that which he hoped to obtain, and therefore he could not support it.

Mr. NEWBEGATE supported the clause on the ground that it was not an enacting clause carrying penalties, but that it was a simple appeal to conscience and to honour.

Sir R. PALMER was not the author of this test. It was required of all lay professors in Scotland, and no one objected to it. It was not a test, but might be taken by a man who was not a Christian; and was an engagement which he could not understand how anyone could object to. He regretted that there should be a rejection of it in this House. The amendment was then disagreed to.

The next amendment was as to the heads of colleges and halls being members of the Church of England, which Mr. GLADSTONE moved that the House disagree to.

Mr. MOWBRAY regretted that this amendment was not accepted. It was adopted by the right hon. gentleman himself so late as last year. He would divide the House on this question.

Mr. B. HOPE said this was a question on which the future of the Universities depended. He did not think it was too much to ask, considering how long the Universities had been connected with the Church, that the heads of those colleges should still be required to be members of that Church.

Lord E. FITZMAURICE opposed the amendment.

The House then divided, when there appeared—

For the motion ... 255

Against it ... 149

Majority against the Lords' amendment—106

The next amendment related to clerical fellowships.

Mr. GLADSTONE said that when the bill was before the Commons at first he resisted the wish of a large portion of the Liberal party for the abolition of clerical fellowships, holding that the matter might be left to the action of the various colleges. But the Lords, not content with that, had enacted that no change in this matter should be made without the authority of Parliament. He objected to this restriction, and moved that it be struck out. Mr. J. TALBOT supported the clause; but, after what had passed, it was useless to divide the House. Mr. WALPOLE was disposed to agree in this matter with the Prime Minister. Mr. PORTER also objected to the amendment. On being put from the chair, it was disagreed to.

On the question of religious worship in the colleges, the amendments sent down from the Lords were as follows:—

The governing body of every college shall provide sufficient religious instruction for all members thereof in *statu pupillari* belonging to the Established Church.

The Morning and Evening Prayer, according to the Order of the Book of Common Prayer, shall continue to be used daily as heretofore in the chapel of every college and hall in the Universities; but notwithstanding anything contained in the statute thirteenth and fourteenth Charles the Second, clause four, section seventeen, or in this Act, it shall be lawful for the visitor of any college or hall, on the request of the governing body thereof, to authorise from time to time, in writing, the use on week-days only of any abridgement of the said Morning and Evening Prayer in the chapel of such college or hall instead of the Order set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.

No person shall be required to attend any college or university lecture to which his parent or guardian shall object.

On the amendment providing for religious worship in colleges,

Mr. GLADSTONE proposed that daily religious worship should be continued in colleges subsisting at the time of the passing of this Act. He did not think it would be fair to impose the same obliga-

tion on colleges that might hereafter be founded by Nonconformists or Roman Catholics.

Mr. LEWIS objected to the clause.

Mr. BOUVIERIE also objected to it, that it tended to make a distinction between Churchmen and Dissenters, which was the object of all the rest of the bill to obliterate.

Mr. V. HARCOURT asked why religious instruction should be confined to members of the Established Church.

Mr. B. HOPE said because they were the members of the Established Church, and the only denomination that did not object to Parliament providing for its religious instruction.

On the motion of Mr. BOUVIERIE, it was agreed that the word "all" should be omitted from the statement, and that members of the Church of England should receive religious instruction.

The retention of the Lords' amendment was opposed by Mr. Lewis, Mr. Miall, Mr. Craufurd, Mr. Denman, Mr. Bristow, and Mr. Monk; and was supported by Mr. Walpole.

The House divided:—

For retaining the clause ... 197

Against it ... 165

Majority ... 32

Loud cheers from below the gangway.

Clause C, providing for the performance in the college chapels of morning and evening services according to the forms of the Church of England, also excited a good deal of opposition from Mr. V. Harcourt and others; but being supported by the Solicitor-General and Mr. Gladstone, was carried by a majority of 130—229 to 99. The adjourned debate on the Westmeath Bill was postponed till Friday, and soon afterwards the sitting was suspended.

After the House had been put through the ceremony of counting at nine o'clock, Mr. KAY-SHUTLEWORTH rose to call attention to the water supply of the metropolis, and to move that the water supplied to householders in London ought to be derived from pure sources, and to be delivered on the constant system. A long debate ensued, and the House did not adjourn till half-past one o'clock.

Her Majesty, with Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice, left Windsor Castle for Balmoral on Wednesday evening, and arrived safely there at three o'clock on the following afternoon.

By command of the Queen, a State Ball was given on Friday evening at Buckingham Palace. It was attended by the Prince of Wales, who was accompanied by Prince John of Glücksburg; Prince Arthur, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Christian, and the Prince and Princess of Teck. The Prince of Wales and the other members of the Royal family entered the saloon soon after ten o'clock, when the dancing immediately commenced.

The Duke of Edinburgh arrived at Plymouth in the Galatea on Friday about noon, and proceeded to London.

The Queen's birthday was celebrated in London on Saturday.

The Prince of Wales, with Prince John of Glücksburg, visited the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugenie, at Chislehurst, on Friday.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.—A meeting of the executive committee of the National Education League was held on Thursday at the Great Western Hotel, Birmingham. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, chairman, presided. The officers' committee reported that circulars had been issued, asking the opinion of the branches on the cumulative system of voting, and the replies sent from the large towns had been condemnatory of that principle, which had worked badly, and had caused great confusion. The branches committee reported the formation of forty-one new branches since the beginning of March. Six travelling agents were now at work in different parts of the country. A resolution was passed, thanking the members of the school boards throughout the country who had opposed the attempts made to subsidise denominational schools out of the rates. The agitation of the League is being carried on with even greater vigour and success than hitherto.

THE BRADFORD CONSERVATIVES.—The association formed by the Conservatives of Bradford is being vigorously conducted. We hear that the association has somewhere about 2,000 members. The means adopted to keep up the enthusiasm in all quarters of the borough are week-night meetings, mostly in public-houses, "knife-and-fork" teas, and dinners. These latter events are constantly "coming off." No sooner is one disposed of than another springs up, and it would seem as if the Conservatives are practising oratory in readiness for the next Parliamentary campaign, to cope with their opponents in public speaking, the Conservatives having been taunted by the fluent Liberals in the last and preceding contests for the borough that they had no speaking power. On Saturday evening the Conservatives had a demonstration, preceded by tea, at the Drill-room at the Bowling Ironworks, when addresses were delivered by several champions of "Our glorious Constitution in Church and State," the late debate in Parliament on Mr. Miall's motion forming a fertile subject of talk. There have been some endeavours made to establish an organ for the party in Bradford, but the Conservatives seem to think that there is more power in eating and drinking to form a compact body, than in expending money on a newspaper or on literary talent, and hence the project languishes, though it is said to be "coming."—*Leeds Mercury*.

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"W. Clark."—Next week.

NOTICE.

The FULL REPORT of the DISESTABLISHMENT DEBATE in the House of Commons which appeared in our number of May 11th, is NOW REPUBLISHED in a smaller and more convenient form, making 32 pp. All the speeches in favour of the motion have been revised by the authors. Price Twopence (by post Twopence-halfpenny) per copy, or 12s. per hundred, with the usual discount to the trade. Orders will be received by Mr. A. MIALI, the Publisher of the *Nonconformist*.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1871.

SUMMARY.

SUNDAY last will be memorable in French history as the day when the Commune was overthrown. Paris was after all surprised by the Versailles troops, who stealthily entered the city on Sunday in two columns—one by the St. Cloud Gate, and the other by the Gate of Montrouge—and thus threw the Communists into confusion. Their leaders were paralysed, and were able to offer but a feeble resistance to the regiments of Marshal MacMahon, which by a combined movement poured into the capital. On Monday 80,000 troops were in possession of some of the strongest positions in Paris. Yesterday the tricoloured flag floated over the celebrated Heights of Montmartre—some 4,000 of the insurgents being made prisoners; and the Government soldiers were encamped in the Champ de Mars, the Place Vendôme, and the Place de la Concorde, and have occupied the Palais de l'Industrie. Their formidable barricades have not been of much avail to the insurgents, who, though they have fought desperately at one or two points, have made no sustained defence. It is expected that the Hotel de Ville and the Tuileries will to-day be surrendered, and that the Reds will make their last stand at Belleville. By closing and cutting the Northern Railway, the Germans prevented the escape of the Communist leaders in that direction. But a large balloon seen over Paris yesterday, has probably carried off many of them, while Assy, Rochefort, and thousands of prisoners, are in custody at Versailles. Paris has happily escaped the "bad half-hour," which might have overtaken it had MacMahon been less prompt. In a few days M. Thiers will exchange the task of capturing the rebellious city for the not less onerous responsibility of governing it; and ere long may ensue a struggle between the Chief of the Executive and the Reactionary Assembly.

Parliament continues to make but slow progress with the business of the session. The Army Regulation Bill has again been under discussion at several sittings of the House of Commons, and even the amiable Mr. Cardwell has been ruffled by the baiting to which he has been subjected by the military officers, or as they have been aptly described, "the colonels in the rampage," who hardly care to conceal that their opposition is factious. Last Thursday the second clause (which sanctions the abolition of purchase) was still under discussion, and it did not pass until Tuesday morning, long after the midnight hour, and then only by the diminished majority of 39 (208 to 169). The same dreary loquacity (confined however to Irish members) has marked the progress of the

Westmeath Coercion Bill, the second reading of which was carried on Friday by 293 to 11. Mr. Dowse gave a remarkable proof of the wholesome effect which the anticipation of the passing of this bill has already produced. A man named Duffy, "Captain of Ribandmen"—that is, of a band of assassins—has thought it prudent to leave his country for his country's good, and has gone off to America.

Possibly we are at the end of the irresolution which has enabled the Opposition to go far to "spoil a session." Yesterday the Prime Minister, in American phrase, "put his foot down." He announced, amid the gratified cheers of the Ministerial Benches, that the Government would persevere with the Army Bill and the Ballot Bill, till they had obtained the final judgment of the House upon them, without any regard to time, and at the risk of prolonging the session. "There are," he says, "considerations of public principle and public duty involved in this matter which give the Government no alternative, and if they are supported by a majority of the House, they will give full effect to the intention which he had announced." This language is worthy of the statesman whose resolution carried both the Irish Church and Irish Land Bills. Spite of obstructive tactics, Mr. Gladstone has shown himself unyielding; and the Opposition now know that their factious policy, which had in view not the defeat of the Army Bill, but the postponement of the measure of electoral reform, will be resultless. "The Ballot," as the *Daily News* pithily says, "is the key of the situation. It is the central measure of the session. It is the one which the Liberal party and the country want most, and the Opposition dread and deprecate the most." The Tories will now have to face it, or lose their partridge-shooting; and the Lords will not be saved from the painful necessity of considering this obnoxious reform.

Their Lordships have previously to accept some humiliation which Lord Salisbury has gratuitously prepared for them. The rashness of the noble Marquis is as headstrong and profitless as that of the late Earl of Derby. The changes he persuaded the Peers to accept in the University Tests Bill came under the consideration of the Lower House yesterday. His brand-new test or declaration for ensnaring tender consciences was slighted even by Mr. Walpole and Mr. Hardy, and Sir Roundell Palmer, who cannot shake himself clear from nervous prejudices, was fain to content himself with a gentle wail. Mr. Newdegate stood almost alone in expressing approval of Lord Salisbury's shibboleth, which was rejected without a division. The House also, on the motion of Mr. Gladstone, declined to except the Heads of Houses from the operation of the bill, by a majority of 106, and refused without a division to accept the cool proposal of the Lords to tie the hands of the colleges in respect to clerical professorships. The Premier's objections to the amendments of the Upper House stopped here; not so those of his supporters. The new clause requiring the colleges to provide religious instruction for undergraduates who are members of the Established Church, Mr. Gladstone amended by limiting its operation to colleges existing at the time of the passing of the Act. But his Liberal supporters objected altogether to the provision. Not satisfied with the verbal protest of Mr. J. D. Lewis, they insisted on a division. The mass of the Liberal party did not agree with the Premier and the Solicitor-General, that on a matter which involved, as they admitted, an important principle, a concession should be made to the prejudices of the Upper House; and they decided to vote against their leaders. The new clause as modified was carried, though only by 32 votes (197 to 165), the majority consisting of members of the Opposition, and only a few Ministerialists. The vote showed the unexpected strength of the friends of religious equality, who greeted the result with loud cheers. The bill will, no doubt, be adopted in its present form by the peers, and in another week or two University Tests will cease to exist.

Elsewhere we publish a full report of the annual meeting of the Peace Society, which so appropriately brings up the rear of the May anniversaries.

The Treaty of Washington is still under discussion in the United States Senate, and is likely to be ratified without amendment. Mr. Sumner has had his say on the subject. The concessions made by England he considers "inadequate," and he objects to recognise any claims for damages on the part of British subjects. But the distinguished Senator acquiesces in the treaty "for the sake of peace," and will even, it is said, vote for it. We regret to see that the Legislature of New Brunswick has protested against the provisions for settling the Fishery dispute, and that there will probably be

a strong opposition to this portion of the treaty in the Dominion Parliament. On the other hand, General Butler complains that the American Commissioners have been overreached! These differences of opinion on the other side of the Atlantic are not likely, however, to mar the treaty any more than Earl Russell's querulous objections on this side.

DOWNFALL OF THE COMMUNE.

AFTER a long and bloody struggle the Commune has succumbed to force. The expectations of M. Thiers that treachery within the walls would simplify his task have not been fulfilled. To the last the National Guards fought with a vigour which suggests painful comparison with the faintheartedness they displayed when a foreign enemy had to be encountered. They have vindicated their pluck at the expense of their patriotism. They have rendered the second siege of Paris more noteworthy than the first, and have gained an individual triumph while contributing to the humiliation of their country. The incidents of the final and decisive assault upon Paris are by no means as dramatic and impressive as had been anticipated. It would seem that, as soon as the Versailles troops advanced to the several breaches that had been made, the National Guards withdrew into the city. There was some severe street-fighting, but far less than we were led to expect. Indeed, the position of the insurgents became virtually untenable after the capture of Forts Issy and Vanvres. The contest was then reduced to a question of time. Hemmed in on all sides and unable to procure food and munitions of war, the surrender of the entire army of the Commune, and the dissolution of the Commune itself, could not long be delayed. Yet the end has arrived sooner than was looked for, and much sooner than might have occurred had boasts resembling those of the Southern Slaveholders been transmuted into action. Dying at the last barricade has proved as much a figure of speech as defending the last dollar and dying in the last ditch. It is better that defeat should be accepted before the victors are driven to extremities. The more prolonged and stubborn the resistance, the greater would have been the needless shedding of blood, and the greater the suffering of the non-combatants.

The defeat of the Commune must be regarded as equivalent to the conquest, both of Paris with its aspirations towards Liberalism, and of the Commune with its panacea for the social shortcomings of the age. That MacMahon, after being unable to hold Sedan, should have conquered Paris, is a military triumph of which neither he nor his army have any reason to be proud. Such an enterprise is not one which renders its hero specially dear to patriotic Frenchmen. An infinitely smaller victory over the Prussians would have contributed more largely towards rendering the victorious general the Dictator of France. Nor need M. Thiers hope to reap any glory from a result which removes out of his path a rival government, and at the same time humiliates Paris. The most remarkable feature of the present struggle has been the small amount of resistance which the Commune met with in Paris itself. It is possible that the demonstration made by the party of order, which ended in a massacre, may have cowed the survivors. It is certain that the opponents of the Commune have not been able to express their opinions through the medium of the press. Beginning by suppressing hostile journals, the Commune ended by forbidding the publication of any journal without special permission. As a consequence, the free expression of opinion was almost impossible. Nevertheless, there have been many significant signs of an absence of cordiality between the party in Paris that was unfriendly to the Commune, and the Assembly at Versailles. In all the negotiations conducted under the auspices of the Republican party which formally refused to accept the programme of the men occupying the Hotel de Ville, the demands made embraced the chief object for which the rising first took place at Montmartre and extended till all Paris fell into the power of the insurgents. The enlightened section of the Liberal party in Paris has always upheld the right of the Parisians to have a voice in the management of their own affairs. This local self-government has been denied them by all the rulers and Governments of France—by the Bourbons and the Orleanists, by the Empire and the Republic, by Gambetta and by Thiers. The natural consequence has been that, if the Parisians wished to protest against municipal taxation, or municipal corruption and jobbery, they at once put themselves in antagonism to the Government of the day, and were charged with being revolutionists. The leading principle of the Commune was that all municipal affairs, and the appointments to municipal

officers, were to be managed and made by the locality itself. Now this commended itself not only to the Liberal party in Paris, but to reformers in every French city. While the Parisians groaned under a system of arbitrary personal rule, the other cities of France were jealous of the supremacy enjoyed by Paris. The capital of France was not permitted to manage its own affairs, while the affairs of France, as a whole, were managed in Paris. Against the system of excessive and pernicious centralisation the Commune was an emphatic and unmistakeable protest. For this reason it obtained much direct sympathy and not a little indirect support from those who were inimical to many of its aims and who censured many of its acts.

Now that the Commune has had to yield to the superior strength of the Assembly at Versailles, its faults will be paraded before the French people, to terrify those who might be tempted to copy its example. That it blundered often and seriously cannot be denied. Many of its ideas were not only Utopian, but wholly inadmissible. Its members were not satisfied with proclaiming their freedom from what they called "religious prejudices," but they showed the bitterest intolerance against those who made any public profession of religion. Their conduct in this matter went far to alienate from them a large proportion of the respectable French Liberals. Yet this blind hatred of the priests, however much to be deplored, is not without excuse. In the eyes of these members of the Commune the misfortunes, the misery, the collapse of France, are altogether due to the manner in which the priests have wielded their vast and irresponsible powers. The French peasants, who are in the lowest stage of intellectual degradation, have been made what they are by priestly influence. The Curé of a French village is a minor Pope. If disobeyed he can threaten the offender with the terrors of the Church. He knows that, as soon as the people become educated, they will read newspapers, think for themselves, and cease to render him the deference paid to a superior. Hence he strives to hinder the spread of education, and thus it is that the French peasantry are ready to do whatever their Mayor requires, and to believe whatever they are told by the Curé. When a peasant's son goes to a great city, and is there emancipated from priestly surveillance, he is all the more ready to fall into the extreme of infidelity, because he has been trained in the extreme of superstition; and he accepts the more unhesitatingly all the crude theories of demagogues, because he has not been taught to distinguish the true from the false, and to reject conclusions which did not justify themselves to his reason. The Commune saw that universal suffrage exercised by the peasants returned an Assembly that was almost certain to give effect to the most reactionary views of government. The restoration of a Monarch, and the return of the priests to power, were regarded as foregone conclusions. An Assembly chosen by peasants could not, it was thought, fail to play into the hands of the priests. From the point of view of the Commune, it was natural that hard measure should have been dealt out against the priests of Paris, from the Archbishop down to the humblest curé.

Notwithstanding the points which the apologists of the insurgents may make in their favour, their utter defeat is a matter for rejoicing. The Versailles Assembly is, after all, a body elected by the people of France. When the people are enfranchised civil war is the greatest of crimes. The majority must submit to the majority, otherwise orderly government is impossible. If the minority should be dissatisfied, then let an effort be made by moral suasion to convert itself into the stronger side. Unhappily this rule is one which Frenchmen appear disinclined to accept. They are now expiating their neglect of it in a way alike lamentable and disastrous. What the result of the victory of the Assembly may be it is hard even to conjecture. M. Thiers has pledged himself to make an example of traitors. Yet he will find this threat a more difficult one to execute than to utter. The fall of a few heads or the banishment of many thousands of traitors to Cayenne, would not simplify the problem he has to solve. Much that has been wantonly destroyed may be easily restored. The Vendôme Column may be rebuilt, the fine dwellings and streets may be rendered as beautiful as before, but an art far transcending that of engineer or architect is required to give to France a stable government, and of a statesman capable of displaying that art we can at present discern no sign.

THE PROTEST OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

THE course recently taken by the Congregational Union in condemnation of some of the

provisions of the Education Act, is a very grave event. It shows our so-called Liberal Government to be at open issue with the most active, if not the most influential, of their supporters in England and Wales. As already reported in our columns, the Union has emphatically protested "against the power conferred on school boards by Clause 25 of the Elementary Education Act to pay fees to denominational day-schools, regarding such payment as a species of concurrent endowment, and a violation of the principle of religious equality." This resolution was moved and seconded by members of the London School Board, zealously supported by some of the most moderate members of the Union, such as Dr. Raleigh, and after a very ample discussion, was adopted by an overwhelming majority. If any one, three years ago, when Mr. Gladstone was pushing forward a bill founded on the principle of religious equality, had predicted that there would have been this serious difference between his Government and their Nonconformist adherents on this very question of religious equality, the notion would have been scouted as absurd.

How the Education Act, which it is boasted makes no provision whatever for religious teaching, is being made to work in favour of denominationalism, we have endeavoured to show in our last and preceding numbers. We have pointed out that this 25th clause is the fly in the pot of ointment, giving a new flavour to the entire Act; that it crept in, as it were, unawares; that it will bolster up indifferent schools by substituting the support of the general ratepayer for the special subscriber; that school boards will vote money without having any control over the expenditure; that a new series of vested interests will be created, because, as is already found, school subscribers will fall away; that it will tend to demoralise the humbler classes, because sectarians will tout for the purpose of filling their schools with the indigent for the sake of the rate-paid fees; that it will outrage the convictions of a considerable part of the community by obliging them to pay for indiscriminate endowment, or in other words, a new and more invidious Church-rate, to be practically shared between Episcopalians and Catholics; and that it will enable sectarian school managers absolutely to produce the rate-money which jingles in their pockets as a claim for the grants of the Education Board.

Against these very weighty objections we look in vain for any cogent plea. It is suddenly, however, discovered that while a ratepayer ought to have no conscience in this matter, the conscience of the indigent child or parent is a most sacred enclosure, which the Legislature, the school boards, and the public are bound to combine in preserving intact at any cost. But it seems to us that Mr. Dale disposed of the argument founded on the case of Michael Donovan by showing that it is utterly inconsistent with the hypothesis upon which the Elementary Education Act is built, and by Dr. Raleigh's protest against "the monstrous proposition that an individual may complain that his conscience is violated if the whole country does not join to educate his children in the religion that he believes."

Nonconformists, we are told, show, in this instance, an unworthy sectarian jealousy and a morbid sensitiveness as to their principles. Such seems to be the view of some Dissenting ministers who approve of the payment of fees in denominational schools. Let us listen to a clergyman on this subject, the Rev. W. R. Cosens, vicar of Dudley, who himself, to his great credit, proposed the rejection of such a bye-law. In the course of his speech before the local school board, the rev. gentleman said:—"It would be an injustice to the ratepayers of the borough to appropriate the rates for the support of denominational schools. For a long time he had held the opinion—although many of his brethren did not—that the rates ought not to be used in such a manner, but that the managers of denominational schools were the proper parties to pay the fees for the children of the poor of their own denomination. He could not conscientiously receive money from the whole of the ratepayers for the support of his particular schools, and the principles he was then enunciating he intended to apply to his schools. If the clause was allowed to remain it would provoke an amount of rancour and ill-feeling among all sections of ratepayers which no concession in the future would overcome; and if, by the exercise of a little Christian charity, it was possible to prevent this, it was his (the speaker's) and their duty to bring about so desirable a result." Such language on the part of a beneficed clergyman is truly gratifying. It is a rebuke to Nonconformists who deem this a light matter, and a still greater rebuke to the spurious charity of many Churchmen, lay as well as clerical, whose notion of equity is for the Dissenter, in the

exercise of a spirit of unflagging liberality, always to sacrifice his principles for the sake of peace. We would respectfully ask both parties why an Act designed in theory to promote the cause of national unsectarian education is to be wrested on the first occasion into an instrument for bolstering up denominational schools, and thus frustrating the very object it is designed to subserve; and why those who denounce this palpable perversion of a good measure are to be, forsooth! derided as narrow-minded and intolerant.

If any of our readers are disposed to ignore this serious question, we would ask them to read the masterly speeches of Mr. Picton and Mr. Dale given in our Supplement. In respect to the expense—the cost of a bad article—the former speaker said:—"An excellent clergyman on the London School Board, when this subject was discussed, announced that he should require payment for some twenty-five children at his school. Now, suppose the average to be about twenty—and I imagine that is beneath the mark if you consider the vast number of denominational schools existing in the metropolitan area, taking the payment to be only 3d. a week—you will find that the sum would speedily amount to 25,000l. or 30,000l.; and it is no slight matter that money to this extent should be given out of the public funds to maintain ecclesiastical influences." Mr. Picton went on to show that this payment of fees in sectarian schools is concurrent endowment in a peculiarly offensive form:—"Which are denominational schools? Not British schools. Scarcely Wesleyan schools, although they are more so at times than others. It is simply the Episcopalian and the Roman Catholic schools which in any proper meaning of the term are denominational schools; and we are giving money, if we pay to denominational schools, simply to sustain the influence of the Church of England and of the Roman Catholics."

Mr. Dale also conclusively showed that the 25th clause of the Act is permissive and not obligatory. If, he remarked, a school board declares that it is bound to put into operation all the permissive clauses of the Act, then it is just as much its duty to erect a free school as it is to pay fees to the Church of England and Roman Catholic schools. The serious objections to the payment of school fees out of the rates were never more forcibly stated than by the same speaker. "Under Clause 25," he said, "if the fees hitherto paid by parents are paid out of rates, and if you add to that grant from the rates the increased grant, under the new code from the Privy Council, every further necessary for the maintenance of a school may be derived on the one hand from the rates, and on the other hand from the Privy Council, and I say that we are called upon to protest against rendering it possible for a great system of propagandism to be sustained not by the aid of the State as in denominational schools, but actually by funds absolutely and altogether derived from the rates or from the consolidated fund." If this statement be incorrect, we should be glad to see it contradicted. But, if it be true, it cannot be denied that this clause, if carried into effect—and most of the school boards have accepted it—will, as Mr. Dale avers, undermine and sweep away the whole of that compromise on which the Act is built, and postpone to an indefinite period the development of a truly national system of education.

It is so far a good sign that the Premier himself, rather than his subordinates, has quietly talked over this question with a deputation of Nonconformists, who are to submit to him their objections in writing. No doubt the Government are in a difficult position, though one of their own making; but unquestionably they could not more effectually put themselves right with their Nonconformist supporters, as well as carry out the distinction between the school boards and denominational schools contended for by the Premier, than by promptly repealing the objectionable twenty-fifth clause of the Education Act.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY IN CUBA.

FOR three years past the beautiful island of Cuba has been in the throes of revolution; and, as we learn from a trustworthy source, the relative position of the two belligerents is now exactly what it was when President Céspedes first unsheathed his sword in the cause of his country's independence. We mean simply to convey to our readers the fact that the military situation is literally unchanged; for, now as then, the Spaniards hold the towns on the coast while the Cubans remain masters of the extensive provinces of the interior. We cannot say that, in other respects, the situation of affairs remains the same. War has produced in Cuba an aggravation of all those evils and miseries which are absolutely inseparable from it, especially when it drags on through weary years of

slaughter. Thirty thousand Cubans have perished on the battle-field. How many have died in prison or have been shot in cold blood can only be conjectured, although a list of these ill-fated patriots, which has been compiled from Spanish records and published in New York, exhibits a death roll numbering several thousands. Women and children have been massacred by hundreds, and multitudes of them, in order to escape a similar or a worse fate, have fled to the woods and the mountains, where, half-naked and famishing, they make the boasted chivalry of the land of Cervantes appear odious and contemptible in the eyes of mankind. Nor has Spain wrought all this misery and ruin without disaster to herself. From first to last she has employed not less than 80,000 troops in the vain effort to subjugate the island. As she publishes no list of her dead it is impossible to say how many of her soldiers have been slain on the field of battle or have succumbed to that tropical malaria which is more deadly to European armies than the fatalities of actual warfare. But the frequent despatch of reinforcements from the mother country tells its own tale. It is, indeed, a repetition of the story of St. Domingo, where a few bands of negroes who were driven from the towns into caves and jungles, and who, moreover, were chiefly armed with the rude implements of agriculture, succeeded in holding the Spanish army at bay, and in ultimately reconquering the independence of which treachery and violence had, for a time, deprived their country.

It is natural that Englishmen should ask what has brought about this lamentable state of things? And also why there should be no immediate prospect of the termination of this sanguinary and disastrous civil war? These questions are easily answered. Cuba has always been held by Spain, not as Canada is held by England, for the good of the people, but that the Spanish exchequer might be enriched out of the revenues of the island, and especially that Spanish grandees and merchants might derive enormous wealth from the African slave-trade, and from the cultivation of sugar by slave labour. In the pursuit of these unrighteous objects the laws of God and man have been systematically defied. It is true that after Spain had, for fifty years, persistently violated the faith of treaties, Great Britain succeeded in suppressing the African trade, so far as Cuba was concerned; but at this hour an equally hideous form of that trade is still carried on under the guise of the Coolie traffic. It matters not whether the imported labourers are called African slaves or Chinese immigrants—the latter, as much as the former, are destined to a fate from which humanity shrinks with horror; and when therefore Spain talks of a policy of gradual emancipation, it is manifestly only to throw dust into the eyes of the world, to pretend, indeed, that slavery is dying, while the principle of slavery is yet nourished and sustained. There is one fact which will guide our readers, with unerring precision, to a right conclusion. It is that wherever Spain rules, negro slavery shares her authority, and is, in fact, blended with all the acts of her administration; while in all those districts of the island which acknowledge the Revolutionary Government, slavery has ceased to exist by virtue of the organic law of the Republic. This, then, is the broad difference between the two parties: the one is fighting for the maintenance of the worst species of oppression, the other as assuredly for its immediate and unconditional abolition. It is the knowledge of this fact, in connection with other circumstances, which we will presently explain, which has excited in the United States the deepest feeling of sympathy on behalf of the Cubans; although the exigencies of party politics, arising out of the Alabama controversies, have thus far restrained the American Government from any act of intervention.

But the Cubans have other claims upon the friendly consideration of nations which, like those of the Anglo-Saxon race, enjoy free institutions. Although the native-born Cubans are nearly all of Spanish descent, the island was always treated by Spain as a conquered province. The Captain-General ruled as absolutely as a Commander-in-Chief in the field. By the terms of his commission he was expressly invested with the same powers as "are granted to the governors of besieged cities." Self-government had no existence whatever in Cuba; for whenever the Spanish people have been intoxicated by the dream of liberty, they have invariably set up the monstrous principle that their chief colony must be exclusively governed by "special laws," that is to say, by such laws as the Cortes at Madrid might choose to pass. No wonder that the Cubans, after several abortive attempts, at last determined to make one great and final effort to cast off this intolerable yoke, and that in doing so, they affirmed, as they did in their memorable Declaration of Independence, that,

"as we despair of justice from Spain through reasoning, and cannot longer live deprived of the rights which other people enjoy, we are constrained to appeal to arms, to assert our rights on the battle-field, cherishing the hope that our grievances will be a sufficient excuse for this last resort to redress them, and to secure our future welfare." The refusal of Spain to concede to the Cubans the rights of local self-government is only another illustration of that incorrigible pride of race which renders the poorest and most illiterate Spaniard unable to regard as his equals the wealthiest and most cultivated race of colonists in the world.

Bitter is the cup of humiliation which Spain is drinking to the dregs this day. The Cubans have not achieved their independence; but Spain nevertheless has no real footing in the island. While the Cubans have cast off their allegiance, the Spanish volunteers who occupy the coast towns are really not more loyal to the mother country. Consisting of native Spaniards who have gone to Cuba, either as officials or as merchants, but in the majority of cases to derive ill-gotten wealth from the abomination of slavery, they are now, so far as their authority extends, ruling the island for themselves, not for Spain. They make use of Spanish troops, of Spanish gold, of the authority of the Spanish Government, simply and solely for their own purposes. Spain is committed, at least to the principle of the abolition of slavery. These volunteers, on the contrary, are as resolutely bent upon giving to that iniquity a new lease of life. Their objects, instead of being patriotic, are selfish and mercenary; and Spain is therefore finding to her cost that, between the two parties, only the mere shadow of her power remains. If she is well advised, she will make terms with the anti-slavery patriots while there is yet time for her to retreat from a false position without a total loss of honour, and of those material benefits which the Cubans would even now heap upon her as the price of their dearly won freedom. England, which has been recently appealed to by Colonel Macias, the representative of the Cubans, is naturally interested in the early termination of this fratricidal struggle; while Spain ought also to be aware that public opinion in the United States has now probably reached that point when continued forbearance becomes impossible.

IN MEMORIAM.

THE LATE REV. T. T. LYNCH.

(From a Correspondent.)

Last Sunday morning, with the brightness of early summer freshening the world, we found ourselves outside Mornington-road Church—so long, yet, alas! so briefly—the scene of Mr. Lynch's ministerial efforts. It was a morning which he himself would have dearly loved, and we should have had something of his inspiration in the worship of the sanctuary; but he was not, for God had taken the long-enduring, patient, and heroic soul to his rest. The grief at their irreparable loss was keenly manifest on every face entering the quaint little iron building, in which some of the wisest words that have been spoken during the last quarter of a century were uttered with a prodigal affluence that told of a deep, exhaustless well of holy thought and feeling within. Entering the church, we found the plain table from which the late Mr. Lynch used to speak draped in black, and that look of solemnity on the countenances of the congregation which tells of the blank made in their lives by the loss of a dear friend. Amongst a crowd of faces, you recognised those who had come a long distance to attend the memorial service—the Rev. Thomas Binney (who opened the service), Professor Godwin, Mr. Charles Mudie, Dr. Theobald, Mr. Carvell Williams, and many who had believed in Mr. Lynch because he himself so truly believed in God in a time of fierce persecution, which resulted in that spasm of the heart against which he fought so manfully for so many years. It is a mistake to say that Mr. Lynch was constitutionally feeble. Twenty years ago, when we lived nearly opposite his house, and when the strains of his organ or his irresistible rendering of "O Rest in the Lord," or "Shall I in Mamre's fertile plains," compelled us to seek admittance, we found him with a physical frame, which, though slight, had plenty of wire and sinew in it. At that time his body was fit servant to his mind, and in mere physical endurance he would have taken the lead of more robust men. Calling one morning upon Caleb Morris we found him breakfasting, and his first words were, "I have had Lynch here; walked all the way from Highgate, sir, and he began to say so many fine things all at once, that I was obliged to tell him I had not had my breakfast." Humanly speaking, but for the wounds he received in that rancorous theological contest—somewhat ironically called "The Rivulet Controversy"—in which so many hands were lifted against him and so few for him, Mr. Lynch might perhaps have been alive now and doing his Master's work. But though he veiled his wounds from the gaze of his most intimate friends, they bled inwardly; his sensitive nature, though it rose again and again under repeated sledge-hammer blows, trembled for weeks and months afterwards, and that bitter attack upon him may be said to have been the beginning of the end.

It was affecting, yet inspiring, to see on Sunday last gathered together in the little church those who had been with him from the beginning, and whose reverence and attachment had only deepened with time. As the vestry door opened, it did not show the grey-haired, thin, wasted figure of their beloved minister, but his old friend the Rev. Samuel Cox, and no one more worthy could have been selected to discharge the duty of the morning. He prefaced what he had to say of Mr. Lynch by an admirable sermon on the death of Lazarus. We trust it will be published, and it will, then, without doubt, be counted worthy of a place by the side of Mr. Binney's and Dr. Newman's sermons on the same subject. The essence of the sermon, perhaps, might be expressed in one of Mr. Lynch's own lines:—"God never is behind His time." He wants to do for us exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think; His heart yearns to do this; but if He defers, it is only that we may receive a larger good, and that our faith in Him may prepare us for its reception. When Mr. Cox came to speak of his acquaintance of twenty years and his dear friend of twelve years, it was with an emotion that drew tears from many eyes. No one, he said, would ever know what he owed to Mr. Lynch, or how deeply he loved him. The preacher spoke of the simplicity of his character, of his candour, his perfect love of truth, his high sense of honour, his courage, his thorough conscientiousness. He viewed him as one who had prepared the way for true, free thought; as the result of the struggle in which he came out victor. It was no longer a sin to say in any pulpit of the land, "God is love." He spoke of his heroic endurance of suffering, of his unassuming disposition, and of his fervent affection for the people amongst whom he had ministered. The preacher was quite sure that they were in his heart still; that if in the heaven into which he had ascended he could pray for them, do anything for them, he would do it. Towards the end of his discourse, he said many things calculated to encourage the hearts of mourners. Their friend was freed from his years of pain; he had shaken off the tabernacle in which so much suffering had been patiently endured, and now, clothed with immortality, had a body which would express perfectly every holy volition. It would be selfish in us to wish to have detained him longer in a sphere in which he had hourly to fight with weakness and weariness; he had now really begun to live, and under conditions that would prove no drawback to all that was noblest and best in him.

One of Mr. Lynch's hymns was sung at the close of the sermon, and the "Dead March in Saul" was played on the organ as the congregation retired. This occupied a considerable time; for, outside as well as within, were old friends who had not met for years who had been Mr. Lynch's hearers in the Grafton-street days.

In the evening, in his own chapel at Holloway, before a very large congregation the Rev. MARK WILKS delivered what we considered to be the model of a funeral sermon in memory of his deceased friend. Without preface he made his hearers understand that the man who had gone was to be the text of the evening, and that his life was pregnant with valuable lessons, which were evolved in a discourse which abounded in passages of noble and impassioned eloquence. Usually quiet, always with a strong repression of emotion, Mr. Wilks allowed his feelings full play, and by pathos of voice, expression of the eye, and a constant outpouring of great thoughts held his large audience in rapt attention for nearly an hour. We cannot report the sermon; we went to do so, but after the first five minutes laid down our pencil and fixed eye and ear on the preacher. His text was, "The things which are seen are temporal; the things which are not seen are eternal." It was a mere motto, save that in Mr. Wilks's mind it seemed to express the chief characteristic of the friend he had lost; a man to whom all material things were mere illusions; to whom God was no mere abstract Being, but a very atmosphere around him in which he lived, moved, and had his being. Mr. Wilks maintained that in the highest sense his friend's life had been a successful one. It was true that he had never preached the missionary sermon at Surrey Chapel, had never had his portrait in the *Evangelical Magazine*, and had never occupied the chair of the Congregational Union. He was not among the popular preachers of the day; but if success meant something higher than this,—perfect truthfulness, and the drawing together a band of friends who kept to him to the death because they were partakers of like precious faith—if success meant the reclaiming of some of the most sceptical minds of the day who, but for him, would have remained in doubt all their lives—if it meant making the way easier for the next generation by being himself a true martyr and confessor, then Mr. Lynch had assuredly achieved it. Without attempting any minute analysis of his character, Mr. Wilks said that he did not think his power consisted either in his practical or his intellectual faculty. Mr. Cox substantially said the same thing about the poetical, adding, however, that there was more poetry in his prose than in his rhymes. We agree with neither preacher. To express himself in verse was as natural to Mr. Lynch as to speak in prose. Anywhere, everywhere, he could put a thought into felicitous rhyme; in fact, it seemed at times that he could not resist doing so. Of his intellectual strength Mr. Wilks took a juster estimate when he said that his mind had the habit of leaping to conclusions, and took no note of the steps by which they

were to be reached—like summer lightning playing all round a question, not like the forked lightning going right to the heart of it. It was so when he preached on the Atonement or the Trinity. All you had to do was not to argue with him, but to listen, and then, though you might be far from agreeing with him, you would leave his company, believing, "Here is a man who has a faith; he does believe in God, and what he, so real, so patient, so true, believes in, is worth my thought." Mr. Wilks expressed the opinion that the secret of Mr. Lynch's power lay in his unswerving conviction that God was in this world, acting with him, helping him, loving him. He lived in the eternal, not in the temporal, and those who enjoyed his fellowship felt the reality of this relation.

Space forbids further words; but we must add, from what we have heard, that there was scarcely a chapel in the north of London in which some reference was not made to the worth and goodness of the deceased preacher and author.

At St. Paul's Chapel, Hawley-road, Kentish-town-road, the Rev. E. White also preached a funeral sermon on Sunday evening, from the words of 2 Cor. vi. 9—"As unknown and yet well known." Mr. White took this expression of St. Paul as naturally descriptive of Mr. Lynch's career. "Living for twenty years in this neighbourhood, almost with the quietness of a disembodied spirit, not causing his voice to be heard in the streets, shunned by some as unsound in the faith, by others as an unintelligible preacher, scarcely known by name to the general multitudes, except as a sickly divine who failed in gathering a large congregation—that he all and end-all of the modern ministry—it is yet suddenly discovered by the inhabitants of this district, on the very week of his funeral, that by far the greatest public teacher in this whole quarter of London had died, and that though 'unknown' he was nevertheless well known to a vast scattered company of hearers and readers throughout England, who honoured him in life and will not cease to venerate his memory now that he is no more." Mr. White proceeded to account for Mr. Lynch's comparative obscurity in the general view, and explained how he had been tabooed by the official class, who "organise speeches, and sermons, and lectures for the glory of God," and who never even have dreamed of inviting this venerable man to take part in any such mere public exercise of religion. This led to some discourse on the quality of the official class generally, and to an urgent representation that they should be counterbalanced in all religious Governments by some influence of men who are prophetic in their character. The latter portion of the discourse was devoted to a consideration of those characteristics of Mr. Lynch which made him "well known" to persons whose judgment is of value, and Mr. White indulged, in confirmation of that higher view of Mr. Lynch's worth, in some retrospect of the twenty years' acquaintance which he had enjoyed with him.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday being Ascension Day, the Lords did not sit.

On Friday, at the suggestion of the Duke of RICHMOND, Earl RUSSELL consented to postpone until Monday, the 12th of June, his motion relating to the Treaty of Washington. On the motion of the Earl of KIMBERLEY, the second reading of the Leeward Islands Bill, intended to legalise their Federation, was carried, after a short discussion. The Bank Holidays Bill, the Sequestration Bill, and the Trades Union Bills, were read a third time and passed, their lordships adjourning at seven o'clock.

On Monday, the Marquis of SALISBURY asked the Foreign Secretary whether the treaty recently concluded with the United States will be ratified before their lordships have an opportunity of discussing the motion of which Earl Russell has given notice upon the subject. Lord GRANVILLE refused in any way to recognise it as a sound constitutional doctrine that a treaty concluded with a foreign Power ought to be submitted to the judgment of Parliament before it was ratified by the sovereign; but intimated that in this instance there is no chance that the ratification will take place before the motion referred to has been submitted to their lordships. Several bills were advanced a stage before their lordships adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE PERMISSIVE PROHIBITORY BILL.

Wednesday's sitting was occupied by a debate on the Permissive Prohibitory Bill.

Sir W. LAWSON, in moving the second reading, recommended it as having its origin among the destitute and wretched, and he put it forward as a direction to the licensing authorities not to thrust temptation to drink on people who objected to it. And it was the harm done to the community by those who could not resist temptation—a minority, he admitted—which gave the right to prohibit the liquor-traffic. Inconvenience, no doubt, would flow occasionally from shutting up public-houses; but that would be as nothing to the diminution of crime and pauperism which, he contended, would be the certain result, and, in speaking on this point, Sir Wilfrid expressed the opinion that it was the "respectable houses," not the low beershops, which

did most mischief. He quoted from the Report of Convocation and other evidence to show that wherever prohibition had been enforced, by private influence or otherwise, drunkenness had disappeared and crime had diminished, and argued in favour of the opportuneness of the reform.

Mr. WHEELHOUSE moved the rejection of the bill, asserting that no ground had been laid for such an interference with private liberty, and that the vast majority of the working classes was opposed to it. If passed, he prophesied that it would prove a curse by stimulating illicit and secret drinking. Discussing the state of public opinion on the matter, and the means taken to procure petition, he created considerable indignation by describing a blasphemous parody of the Lord's Prayer which had been posted in Bradford by the opponents of the liquor-traffic. As a matter of principle, a sumptuary law against beef would be quite as justifiable as against beer, and as a proof of sincerity he required that the supporters of the bill should begin with the clubs and the rich men.

Lord C. HAMILTON, in support of the bill, mentioned the experience of a district in his own county (Tyronne) where prohibition had been tried with the most beneficial results, and went at length into comparative statistics of liquor-traffic and police and poor rates. He dwelt also on the intense anxiety exhibited in Ireland on the question.

Mr. PIM, who had also received numerous representations in favour of the bill, regretted that he could not support it, because he thought it ineffectual, unconstitutional, and unjust.

Sir H. SELWYN-IBBETSON grounded his opposition to the bill on the inexpediency of prematurely committing the House to one particular mode of settling the question. At the same time he thought this an eminently unfit mode of arriving at a solution. Over-restriction must lead to evasion, and as one proof of this he mentioned that there had recently been a large increase in the number of "workmen's clubs," established under the covert patronage of publicans. And this led Sir Henry to defend his own Beerhouse Act and its repressive effect on drunkenness, and to express his preference for that mode of dealing with the evil.

Mr. J. LOCKE drew a humorous picture of the perplexities of members, tortured by divergent sections of their constituents to vote for and against what he still continued to think a ridiculous and absurd bill.

Mr. CADOGAN said that his constituents required the bill to protect themselves against the evils of drinking, which poisoned their existence, and he should therefore vote for the principle, though he believed the details to be faulty and fraught with injustice.

The bill was opposed by Sir D. CORRIGAN and Sir H. HOARE, and supported by Mr. E. SMITH, Mr. MUNDILLA, and Mr. SAMUELSON, the latter of whom had formerly opposed it, but now voted for it as a protest against the withdrawal of the Licensing Bill.

Lord SANDON, though admitting the enormity of the evil, thought the mode in which Sir W. LAWSON proposed to meet it was an outrage on public right and liberty, and an injustice to those whose property was destroyed without compensation. The perpetual agitation to which it would lead must make it impossible to get respectable men to conduct the liquor-traffic.

Mr. BRUCE, after expressing the deep mortification with which he had been compelled to drop the Licensing Bill, maintained that this particular measure stopped the way against all practical legislation by misleading the public as to the real opinion of Parliament, and diverting strength from the real objects of reform. Not one-third of those who voted for the bill were actually in favour of it, and all knew that it had not the smallest chance of being adopted in any town where it would be of any particular service. Restriction was necessary from the nature of the trade, but to stop the sale altogether would lead to secret drinking and local agitation. What he held to be reasonable was a reduction in the number of houses, strict regulations, and guarantees for good management; but this bill was unjust and illusive, and he urged members to vote courageously, without shirking, and to throw the bill out.

On a division, the second reading was negatived by 206 to 124.

The Lords' amendments to the Workshops' Regulations Amendment Bill were agreed to, and several other bills having been forwarded a stage, the House adjourned at twenty minutes to six o'clock.

MR. DISRAELI AND MR. LOWE.

On Thursday, in a crowded House, and amid the cheers of his party, Mr. DISRAELI rose to call attention to the "general conduct" of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Reviewing the various changes in the Budget, and the irregularities as regards the house-tax and tea-duties with which it had been accompanied, he complained that the Government had vouchsafed no explanation of the reasons why they had abandoned their first proposals, and thrown the whole burden of the year on direct taxation, and especially on that particular tax which the highest authority had declared to be a most unpopular tax, and one which most severely pinched the poor middle-classes. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had laid the complete deficiency before the House, including the expiry of the tea-duties, the House would have seen that there was not only one indirect tax, and that a new one, for them to consider, but that there were two indirect taxes, and it would then have been open to them to

have come to a conclusion very different from that into the adoption of which he might almost say they had been entrapped. Mr. Disraeli enumerated the various objections to the income-tax as unjust in its incidence, inquisitorial and unpopular, and deprecated resort being had to it except on a real emergency. He also related what he called "statistical anecdotes" of the tea-duties, showing their continual reduction, but guarded himself against expressing an opinion that they should now be raised. He warned the House that we should have to face a heavy expenditure in the next year or two. The cost of the Army Bill was unfathomable, and there would be a reckoning to settle for the Alabama claims. It was necessary, therefore, to consider whether, if not for perpetual, at least for permanent purposes, they were to supply accruing deficiencies by having recourse to direct taxation of a peculiarly unjust and odious character, instead of dealing with taxation on articles of general consumption, such as the tea-duties. Correcting Mr. Lowe's figures as to the relative proportions of direct and indirect taxation, he contended that, including local taxation, the former amounted to 52,000,000*l.* and the latter to 42,700,000*l.* He anticipated a universal protest from the country when it was comprehended that for the future all additional taxes were to be laid on the income-tax.

Mr. LOWE was very brief in his reply. He complained that Mr. Disraeli had played off a practical joke upon him by threatening a general indictment of his financial policy, and sinking into a criticism of a few small isolated points, which he described as the "veriest pedantries of finance." He confessed that he had forgotten to mention the tea-duties, but that was because their renewal from year to year was a matter of course, and pointed out that if he had included them in his Budget as a new tax, that would have been a large apparent addition to indirect taxation, so that Mr. Disraeli's charge that this branch of taxation was unduly relieved, so far broke down. As to the proportions between direct and indirect taxation, he maintained that substantially his statement was correct, and remarked that local taxation, excluding loans, amounted to 20,000,000*l.*, and not 36,000,000*l.*, as Mr. Disraeli had said. As to the withdrawal of the original Budget, everybody except Mr. Disraeli knew perfectly well that it was withdrawn because it was distasteful to the House, and the Ministers, who acknowledged it as their master, not being petulant children, preferred to propose an additional income-tax rather than sacrifice the Army Bill, to which they attached enormous importance. He retorted also on Mr. Disraeli that he had raised the cost of his Abyssinian war by a twopenny income-tax.

When Mr. Lowe sat down the House began to empty, but Professor FAWCETT continued the discussion, denouncing the principle of devoting all surpluses to the reduction of indirect taxes and covering all deficits by direct taxes, and predicting that it would encourage the democracy to make demands on the public purse. Mr. NEWDEGATE expressed the satisfaction with which he had listened to this protest, and endorsed it heartily.

Mr. OSBORNE declared that this was a post-mortem examination of a Budget which had committed suicide, and had been buried at the crossroads. If the Ministers were not, as the Chancellor said, petulant children, they might be something worse—they might be spoilt children—spoilt by the obsequious majority which sat at their back and was ready to be dragged through any mire at the bidding of the Government. They never could have any reduction of taxation unless the Government took back their estimates and reduced them. As to the expression of opinion evoked from the country by the proposed abolition of purchase—the little bit of red rag held out to the unfortunate people—let them come to pay for it, and it would then be seen what were the feelings of the country.

After some further discussion, in which Mr. MAGNIAC, Mr. R. FOWLER, Mr. SCOURFIELD, and others took part, the House went into committee on the Income-tax Bill. A clause moved by Mr. HERMON, providing for the collection of income-tax in two instalments, was resisted by Mr. LOWE, and negatived by 76 to 37.

In committee on the Army Regulation Bill, Colonel ANSON moved an amendment on Clause 2 with the object of permitting the purchase of exchanges. Mr. CARDWELL, in opposing it, explained that it was not intended to prevent exchanges, but merely to prohibit money passing in such transactions, except the payment of travelling expenses. To make an exception in favour of "exchanges" would be to strike at the abolition of purchase. After considerable debate the amendment was negatived by 183 to 146. A motion to report progress was defeated by 181 to 133, but the Government agreed to postpone the further progress of the bill until Monday before Clause 2 was completed.

The House adjourned at five minutes to two o'clock.

WESTMEATH.

At a morning sitting on Friday the discussion on the Westmeath Coercion Bill was resumed. Mr. J. MARTIN, the Nationalist, finished the speech interrupted by the close of the sitting on Tuesday, and intimated that there was much more he would like to say upon this subject; but there was a moral gulf between the two countries which, in a great number of speeches, he would be unable to bridge over.

Sir H. BRUCE, Mr. AGAR-ELLIS, and Mr. CONOLLY supported the bill. Mr. SAUNDERSON did the same, declaring that it was a measure designed not to re-

press liberty, but to ensure liberty, to give the landlords an opportunity of living, to give the tenant a right to hold his land without running the risk of losing his life, and give the labourer a right to enter the service of whom he pleased. Sir P. O'BRIEN, Mr. DIGBY, and Mr. SYNAN spoke in favour of the amendment. Mr. WHALLEY complained of the countenance afforded by the Catholic clergy to Ribbonism.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL for IRELAND, defending the bill, said: If Ireland were ever to be happy and to enjoy the glorious future her sons had predicted and prayed for, it could only be brought about by the adoption of measures which, like the present, would remove a pressing danger, and teach her people to love, obey, and reverence the law.

On a division, The O'CONNOR DON'S amendment (condemning the continuance of the Peace Preservation Act) was negatived by 340 to 12; and another division being taken on the second reading of the bill, it was carried by 293 to 11.

THE INCOME-TAX.

The Customs and Income-tax Bill was read a third time and passed.

At the evening sitting two attempts were vainly made to count out the House. Mr. CHADWICK'S motion for a select committee to inquire into the mode of assessing the income-tax, with a special view to distinguish between permanent and professional or industrial incomes, was supported by Mr. LEATHAM, Mr. NORWOOD, and Mr. HERMON. Mr. CRAWFORD opposed the motion, on the ground that the investigation of the question had already been exhausted. Mr. LOWE said he felt perfectly confident that if a committee were appointed the result would be that they could come to no other conclusion than that, if an income-tax must be maintained, it must be a uniform tax. He offered, if Mr. Chadwick would furnish a list of his thirteen articles of grievance, with any comments he might choose to append, to make a most searching investigation into such of them as were not of a speculative or theoretical nature. The recasting the Income-tax Act, which was in a very clumsy and antiquated form, was, he admitted, worthy of consideration.

On a division, the motion was rejected by 56 to 47.

The House adjourned at half-past one o'clock.

THE BUDGET.

There is to be another attack on the Budget. At the commencement of the sitting on Monday Mr. WHITE gave notice that on Friday he would move that it was inexpedient to make provision for the reduction of the National Debt out of the income of the year until a reduction of the Customs and Excise duties now levied had been effected.

SCHOOL INSPECTION.

Replying to Mr. DIXON, Mr. FORSTER said that denominational inspection having been abolished, it was no longer the business of the Education Department to ascertain the denominations to which inspectors belonged, and he could give no information on that point in regard to recent appointments. Educational qualifications had alone been considered.

THE LICENSING QUESTION.

Mr. BRUCE said he intended to introduce his bill for regulating public-houses after Whitsuntide, as well as a bill suspending the issue of licences, and providing facilities for the transfer of licences, so as to regulate the distribution of houses in accordance with the wants of the population. The Home Secretary added that he was ready to introduce the Police Superannuation Bill at once; but it would scarcely be treating the House fairly to do so without a prospect of proceeding with it, which he had not at present. Mr. C. FORTESCUE said he had prepared a measure dealing with railway matters, especially with reference to accidents, which he intended to introduce after Whitsuntide.

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

Mr. DISRAELI having expressed some curiosity as to the arrangements for the business of the House, Mr. GLADSTONE intimated that on Thursday the Army Bill would be proceeded with. On the same day he would state the intention of the Government as to the report of the Committee on Public Business. Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply to Mr. BOUVIER, said it was his intention to defer to the time-honoured custom, and to move that the House should not sit on Wednesday (the Derby Day).

THE ARMY BILL.

The consideration of Clause 2 of the Army Bill was resumed in committee. Sir G. JENKINSON moved as an amendment to insert in a schedule the cases in which exchanges should be allowed, all such exchanges being subject to the approval not only of the Commander-in-Chief, but of the Secretary of State for War. Mr. CARDWELL said that there was every disposition on the part of the Government to facilitate exchanges in such cases, but they could not depart from the principle of not legalising the payment of money by one officer to another as a consideration for the exchange.

In the course of the discussion the burden of complaint was the reticence of the Government as to the details of their reforms, and especially as to the ultimate cost of them. Mr. CARDWELL did not think that, after the decision that had already been given, and what had been said on both sides, he ought to be called upon to make long speeches upon the renewal of the question. Mr. GILPIN, as an independent member, held that a very large expenditure was proposed for which no adequate reason had been shown. He had not therefore been

able to vote with the Government; but the effect of the factious opposition now offered must be to induce those who had not yet voted for the measure heartily to support it. He was for the abolition of purchase; but he believed his constituents would have wished some better reasons to have been given why at this time, in this way, and at such cost, this change should be made. On a division, the amendment was negatived by 211 to 168.

On the clause as a whole, a new debate on the general merits of the purchase system was reopened by Lord GARLICK, who moved the rejection of the clause, though he confessed it was as a "forlorn hope." Besides the Conservative members (including Mr. Henley) who opposed the measure, Mr. WHALLEY, on the Liberal side, offered to join in any effort, directly or indirectly, to frustrate the passage of the bill. Mr. C. SEELY, jun., while thoroughly approving the abolition of purchase, did not think it right that the nation should be called upon to pay so large a sum without some better guarantee that the money when spent would result in the changes which were promised. He suggested that the progress of the bill should be delayed, and while the War Office was drawing up the new regulations the House might take up the Ballot Bill. Mr. OTWAY, also a strong supporter of the abolition of purchase, maintained that it was impossible to do anything more prejudicial to the public service than to throw any impediment in the way of exchanges between officers of equal rank, and blamed the reticence of the Government in regard to the expense of the system of retirement. After a reply from Mr. CARDWELL, the committee divided, when Clause 2 was carried by 208 to 169, and the further progress of the bill was adjourned until Thursday.

The House adjourned at a quarter to three o'clock.

THE CAPTURE OF PARIS.

News arrived on Monday from several sources that the Versailles troops entered Paris on Sunday afternoon. The Versailles correspondent of the *Times* telegraphed:—"The Versailles troops entered Paris at four o'clock this afternoon at two different points—namely, by St. Cloud Gate at Point du Jour and by the Gate of Montrouge. The ramparts were abandoned by the insurgents." The following despatch, dated Sunday evening, is from the correspondent of the *Telegraph*:—"The troops entered Paris to-day at four p.m. Captain Trèves, an officer of the navy, crept up quietly from the trenches to the ramparts at the Point du Jour. To his astonishment he found that the insurgents had retired. He immediately called up 300 sailors, who took possession of the gate. Other troops followed up, and before any one really felt that the affair had commenced, it was all over. Not a rifle was fired; there was not a single man wounded; the whole thing was most unexpected. The insurgents have hoisted a white flag at Auteuil. Another brigade of the troops entered by the Porte Montrouge. Troops are now pouring down upon both points. It is reported that the Arc de Triomphe has been reached. The latest account from the front states that the insurgents are making but a very slight resistance. The guns of the ramparts are now turned on them by the troops. Just as I close this despatch I am informed that 20,000 men are massed under Issy. In Paris no resistance is encountered from the insurgents. Forty thousand men are now moving on the open gates."

Mr. Reuter's telegram says:—"M. Thiers has sent a despatch to the Prefect announcing that the gate of St. Cloud was forced down by the fire of the Versailles guns, and General Douay then rushed with his men into the interior. The troops under Generals Ladmirault and Clinchamps were at once set in motion to follow them. A despatch from Commandant Trèves announces that he entered Paris at half-past three on Sunday afternoon by the Gate of St. Cloud with a corps of Fusiliers and Marines, who took possession of the gate and cut the telegraph wires. Another despatch dated five p.m. announces that a flag of truce has been hoisted over the Auteuil gate, whence it is presumed that the insurgents wish to surrender that gate. According to private advices the 37th Regiment of the Line was the first to enter by the St. Cloud Gate. A despatch from General Cissey says that bearers of flags of truce had come to inform him of the evacuation of the position of the Malakoff and Fort Montrouge by the Federalists, and the news having been ascertained to be correct, General Cissey's men occupied those places, but the batteries on the ramparts continued to fire during the afternoon. The latest intelligence, time seven p.m., states that about two regiments entered Paris by way of Auteuil, and proceeded beyond the viaduct of the circular railway, meeting with only a feeble resistance. A panic prevails in Paris. It is asserted that Félix Pyat, Paschal Grousset, and other leaders of the Communist movement have disappeared."

The Versailles correspondent of the *Daily News* telegraphs:—"The rumour in Versailles that Paris has surrendered is confirmed to this extent, that at three this afternoon a flag of truce was hoisted at Porte St. Cloud after a body of troops under General Douay had entered at a breach, and occupied positions near Auteuil. A general signal was at once given to all the batteries pointing against

the southern ramparts to cease firing. All the troops in the Satory camp have been ordered to be ready to march. My impression is that the Versailles troops will occupy Paris without any serious fighting. The siege batteries last night fired incessantly for eight hours, and made immense breaches in the ramparts about the Porte Maillot and Auteuil. It must be impossible for any Communal commander to keep up the delusion any longer that resistance has any chance. The honour of entering the first by the breach near Porte St. Cloud belongs to a naval captain named Trèves. Immediately after effecting an entrance the greater part of the corps of Douay marched rapidly in the direction of the Auteuil Viaduct, crossed the Seine by Grenelle Bridge, and joined the Issy troops at Porte d'Issy. General Dubarrail has occupied Choisy-le-Roi at the head of his division."

M. ROCHFORT A PRISONER.

Never (says the Versailles correspondent of the *Times*, telegraphing on Sunday night) have I witnessed a scene of greater excitement than the entry of Rochefort into Versailles as a prisoner to-day. He was brought in by the St. Germain road, and seated in a family omnibus drawn by two horses. First came a squadron of gendarmes, then the omnibus, surrounded by Chasseurs d'Afrique, and lastly a squadron of the same corps. In the vehicle with Rochefort were his secretary, Mourlot, and four police-agents dressed in plain clothes. Outside the omnibus were an officer of the gendarmerie in uniform and two of three sergeants-de-ville not in uniform. Rochefort's motostick had disappeared. He had himself shaved closely before setting out from Paris in order to disguise himself, but there was no mistaking him. It was half-past one o'clock in the afternoon when the carriage, arriving at the end of the Boulevard du Roi, entered the Rue des Réservoirs. Every one ran into the street, and shouts of execration were raised on all sides. It was no mere demonstration of a mob. The citizens of all classes joined in it. One man ventured to cry, "Vive Rochefort!" He was kicked by several persons who happened to be near him, and was saved from further violence only by arrest at the hands of the sergeants-de-ville. Along the Rue des Réservoirs, the Rue de la Pompe, the Place Hoché, the Rue de Hoché, and the Avenue St. Cloud, Rochefort was greeted with incessant shouts of "A bas l'assassin; à pied le brigand; à mort!" The people wanted to have him out of the omnibus, and it was with difficulty the cavalry prevented them from dragging him out and inflicting summary execution. The cavalcade was obliged to go at a slow pace, but finally he was safely lodged in gaol. I believe that but for the precautions taken by the Government, he would have been killed before he had got near it. The demand to have an example made of him, and the dissatisfaction at seeing him brought to prison in a carriage, were loud and general.

ENTRY OF THE TROOPS.

The great event of Monday (says the Versailles correspondent of the *Times*) came upon every one by surprise. It had been expected, but not for Monday. Even the Marshal Commanding-in-Chief looked forward to at least six more days of sapping and mounting of batteries and actual breaching before his army would be able to make the final movement. The writer goes on:—

A certain number of the troops were inside the *enceinte* before anyone but themselves knew of it, and Auteuil and the Point du Jour were shelled for nearly hours after they had fallen into the possession of the forces of Versailles. One man, M. Clement, an officer of Engineers, played a prominent part in this historical affair. Soon after midday, proceeding cautiously in advance of a party of his men, who were lying in concealment between the nearest parallel and the Porte de St. Cloud, he crept up to the bastion and found it and the ramparts adjoining without a single sentinel. Keeping near the ground, he waved a white handkerchief. It was seen by the small party of Engineers who were lying outside the last parallel, and also by Lieutenant Trèves, of the French Navy. At first the signal was not understood; but M. Clement continued to wave the handkerchief violently, and beckon to those who saw him to come on immediately. It was with difficulty one hundred men could be collected in the trenches, but about that number advanced and occupied the deserted position. In the meantime the word was passed from post to post in their rear, and a battalion was soon on its way after them. By half-past three o'clock dispositions had been effected for occupying both Auteuil and the Point du Jour with a sufficient force, and proceeding to the other gates, both right and left. The gates and drawbridge of Auteuil had been demolished several days previously, but the insurgents had substituted an enormous barricade, which shut off the iron bridge uniting the railway-station with the viaduct. The division of General Vergé marched direct upon Auteuil. Scarcely had the first column arrived there, when volleys of musketry were opened by the insurgents concealed in houses. A few of the troops were put *hors de combat* by the fire, but the artillery of the division turned their pieces on the ramparts against the enemy. Mitrailleurs were also brought into requisition by the troops, and within an hour the insurgents had fled to a distance. The division of General Douay entered by the gate of St. Cloud, which is at the Point du Jour, and occupied the salient between the ramparts and the viaduct. Here there was a second bastion of considerable solidity. The soldiers entered the half-ruined barracks and casemates, and made prisoners of a number of insurgents whom they found concealed there. Immediate preparations were then made for the advance right and left, but as the enemy was still keeping up a fire from 7-pounders and mitrailleurs, along the bastions between Vaugirard and Montrouge, a regular assault of these division under General Cissey was determined upon. I have already announced that it was successful. The divisions began to march in by the gates of Vaugirard and Montrouge.

At two o'clock this morning La Muette was occupied without serious resistance. A division subsequently advanced to Passy to join that which had taken La Muette, and the division of General Vinoy is believed to be now at the Trocadero.

STREET FIGHTING.

The *Daily News*, in a second edition, published the following, dated Paris, Monday, four p.m. :—

By half-past nine the Versailles had advanced considerably down the Boulevard Haussmann, which they swept with a heavy musketry fire. Two lads were shot down close to me at the end of the Rue de Lafayette. There was no return fire of any account. Many Communists passed falling back, declaring as usual that they had been betrayed. As I stood, there was a scrimmage at a rough, hastily thrown-up barricade in the Boulevard Haussmann, about 500 yards nearer Pepiniere than the Rue de Lafayette. It was carried by the Versailles marines. I could see them jumping up on the barricades. Everywhere, as I learn, the Versailles were led by gendarmes and sailors or marines. The National Guards fell back dodging behind lamp-post and in doorways, and often firing wildly as they retreated. This drew a still heavier fire from the Versailles barricade. A bullet struck the front of a gas pillar, beyond which I stood, and fell flattened in the road. A woman stepped out from the gable of the Rue de Lafayette, picked up the bullet, and walked coolly back, clapping her hands with glee. The Communists retreated ever, throwing up barricades everywhere, so that circulation became almost impossible. They seemed to be heading towards Montmartre, which had opened fire on the Trocadero, from which the chief share of the Versailles artillery fire seemed to come. The Versailles seemed to understand this policy, and made some haste to obviate it. By twelve they had gained the Place de l'Europe, near the Western Terminus, on the way to Montmartre, thus completing a definite and well-marked line from the western terminus riverward by the Madeleine and the Place de la Concorde. Of the other side of the river I can say nothing. Some say the Versailles are as far as a line from the Pont de la Concorde backward to the Ecole Militaire, but there is no certainty. At about two o'clock the Versailles had fairly established themselves in the line I have described, and were making the Boulevard Haussmann terribly hot quarters down to the very end. At the same hour they began to shell from their battery at the Madeleine the Communist barricade on the Boulevard des Capucines, at the top of the Rue de la Paix. This was a crushing fire, and the barricade was soon shattered. As I conclude, the Communists seem demoralised, yet they are working hard everywhere erecting barricades, and the *général* is sounding. No generals are to be found.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

In the National Assembly on Monday afternoon M. Thiers addressed the Chamber and said :—

The cause of right, liberty, order, and civilisation is triumphant. Our admirable army is shedding its generous blood and exhibiting its valour. By the aid of the powerful artillery brought into play the approaches have been pushed forward with greater rapidity. It was so difficult an undertaking to drive a sap over so extended a space that we did not consider that the assault could be made yet for three or four days. General Douai, having observed that the Porte de St. Cloud had been abandoned, sent forward his troops. On the left General Ladmirault took the gates of Passy and Auteuil, and then turning to the left seized the Arc de Triomphe. General Vinoy, entering by the Point du Jour, passed the Seine and opened the gates of Sèvres to General Cussy. By two o'clock General Cussy was master of the Faubourg St. Germain as far as Mont Parnasse, and General Clinchamps was at the New Opera House. The slight resistance we have met with warrants us in hoping that Paris will soon be restored to its true sovereign—to France. We are honest men. We will visit with the rigour of the law those men who have been guilty of crime against France, and have not shrunk from assassination or the destruction of national monuments. The laws will be rigorously enforced. The explosion shall be complete. (Loud applause.)

M. Jules Simon proposed a bill having for its object the reconstruction of the Vendôme Column, with a statue of France on the summit, and the restoration of the Expiatory Chapel erected to the memory of King Louis XVI. (Loud applause.) He proposed that the new Column should be crowned with a statue of France. (Acclamations.) M. Coehery proposed to vote the thanks of the Assembly to the army and to the Chief of the Executive Power. The vote was agreed to unanimously. M. Thiers thanked the Assembly, and expressed his gratitude for this the highest reward that he could have desired. The confidence of the Assembly would enable him to continue the work of restoration, to which he should devote all his powers. (Prolonged applause.) M. Jules Simon embraced M. Thiers.

MISCELLANEOUS.

It is stated that the strictest orders have been given to the German outposts to drive back all insurgents, and the advanced corps were doubled last night to prevent any from breaking through the circle of investment north of Paris. A wounded insurgent attempted to pass the Prussian outposts, but was forced to go back. Citizen Assy is among the Red prisoners brought to Versailles.

Up to Monday night the Versailles troops had captured from 8,000 to 10,000 prisoners.

The Versailles papers declare that the Vendôme Column has been bought by Prussia. In the *Liberté*, published at St. Germain, it is stated that not only is that the case, but that the column is to be set up again in Berlin.

M. Thiers and Marshal MacMahon witnessed from Mont Valérien the entry of the Versailles troops into Paris on Sunday afternoon by the Porte St. Cloud.

M. Edmond About has written an article in the *Soleil*, in which he expresses the hope that M. Thiers will consent to be President of the Republic for two years.

Literature.

THE DIVINENESS OF HUMANITY.*

We heartily thank the Christian Evidence Society for the course of lectures now being delivered under its auspices. They are timely; many among the "educated classes" will welcome them and value the testimony they offer that men of education still find reason to believe in the spirituality of man, his ability to apprehend God, and the revelation by which God guides the thoughts of men to correct knowledge of Him. The lectures may not perhaps be great, but they are very good; characterised by earnestness of thought, clearness of reasoning, and the excellent grace of candour which we are bold to affirm and happy to believe belongs to educated theologians no less than to students in any other department. Flaws there are undoubtedly in the conduct of each of the arguments. We do not think the Dean of Canterbury happy in his jests at the expense of his opponents. It is not fair of him to oppose the advocates of the "nebular hypothesis" to the advocates of the hypothesis of "natural selection" as he does on page 12; for this simple reason, that their estimates of cosmological time are confessedly widely different; when we have had our laugh out, we feel that we have been doing them scant justice. The note on page 17 is also unworthy of its place. It by no means follows that because the hand is, as Sir C. Bell has pointed out, so noble an organ, therefore four hands are better than two hands and two feet. The human organs are more highly differentiated than those of the monkey, and the more highly differentiated creature is ever the superior. Mr. Jackson again has a fine fervour pervading his lecture, but its expression might have been advantageously somewhat repressed. He has copied too much the style of Mr. Carlyle for the purposes of such an argument as he carries on. The lecture of the Archbishop of York appears to have been too hurriedly prepared. It is short, which doubtless is an advantage in a popular lecture; but it is not condensed in proportion to its brevity. The Archbishop evinces a true naturalist's enthusiasm; he loves the "cosmos," loves it chiefly because the "love of the Father is in him." We do not wish his descriptions of nature away, but we should have liked a fuller treatment of his theme. After all such deductions, however, we have in these lectures a valuable contribution to current theological literature. What many religious men are now longing for is proof that theological teachers are earnest in their beliefs and can give intelligent reasons for them; and every page of these lectures evidences this.

The title we have given our article indicates the main thought of these three lectures. They all assign to man rank as a supernatural being. They are not content with calling him spiritual, as Professor Huxley would call him so; spiritual, if the physical universe is so, material, if that is so, whether called spiritual or material mattering not. They contrast man with nature. They regard him as holding indeed to the physical world by his bodily constitution, and therefore subject to physical laws; but they also point out a consciousness in man that cannot have arisen out of physical antecedents, the phenomena of which are distinguishable from physical phenomena; they vindicate for these phenomena the right to be studied for themselves; and in human consciousness they recognise an ability to apprehend God, and a capacity for receiving a revelation from Him. The Archbishop of York points out "four kingdoms or classes of facts" in the world—the mineral, the vegetable, the animal, and man. He quotes from Mr. Wallace a passage describing man's power over nature, that he has "not only usurped natural selection himself, but he is able to take away some of that power from nature which before his appearance she universally exercised." And then he affirms that "man alone is capable of an unselfish interest in the world around him; that is, an interest that does not bear immediately on his bodily wants." Lastly, he declares that the "sense of responsibility" is "one of the marks which separate man from all other creatures." The reasoning on all these points is clear and forcible, and it not only lays the foundation for a statement of the "argument from design"; it is essential as an introduction to the whole course of lectures on Christian evidence. For no reasoning can transcend the facts of consciousness; and on

the other hand, no reasoning can be valid that disregards those facts. It is from the consciousness of power in ourselves we gain the idea of Divine creative power; from moral character in man that we are able to conceive of the moral character of God. "Any mind in its natural state knows that in human works [such] adaptations could only proceed from contrivance, and is willing to regard these in the same way as proofs of design in creation. The physicist has to *tutor himself* to a different view." The Archbishop's lecture is, in fact, like the other two, a vindication of the commonsense interpretation of the facts of the universe; power and purpose are apparent in them, and power and purpose are both personal ideas. They spring from personal consciousness, and the signs of them irresistibly suggest a personal being. The conception of law, so far from being opposed to this reasoning, is itself only a high conception of personal action.

"If I were to venture to express in a few sentences the belief of a man of ordinary education upon this subject, I should say that God alone is, and can be, the first cause of this universe, the mover of its motion, the giver of its life. The wise purposes which abide forth for us in nature were in the mind of God from the first act of creation. In saying that He has wrought by laws we do not detract from His power; we seem rather to enhance it to our minds in attributing to Him constancy as well as wisdom. A law is not a restraint; it is a fixed manner of working. To say of a painter that he never produces any but fine works, does not affirm that he is less free than an inferior artist; just because producing bad work is no power or privilege, but a defect. And so, when we admit that God works by law, and expect to find the same spectrum from the sun's rays which we have once made with our own prism, at every time and in every place where the sun's light shines, and so on, we do not narrow the power of the Great Artificer, unless it can be shown that caprice is a privilege and a good."

It is hardly possible to give any extracts from the lecture of Dr. Payne Smith without doing it injustice. Its force is cumulative, its great merit the completeness with which its one argument is developed. "Everywhere in Nature," he says, "we see the supply of existing necessities; every being is compelled to use all its powers under the penalty of degradation, and finally of extinction. Man has religious faculties; he must use them, or man will cease to be man, and then will cease to be at all. He has religious necessities; there is the fullest probability, *a priori*, that these will be supplied. The ground is thus left clear for the production of the evidences on which the Christian revelation claims to be received."

"Nature cannot develop any being higher than herself, nor endow it with wants which she cannot supply. If Nature develops intellect, morality, religion, then that power which developed these faculties must also be intellectual, moral, religious. What, then, can this power in Nature be but the working of God? Out of nothing comes nothing. The effect cannot be greater than the cause. The existence of man, with his mental, moral, and religious powers, forbids us to believe that that which caused man to exist can be less possessed of these powers than he is. Infinitely higher he may be—lower he cannot be. And, as surely as man's physical and mental wants are provided for by that power which called these wants into being, so surely will man's moral and religious wants be supplied. They are not supplied by the light of Nature, nothing then remains but revelation."

Mr. Jackson's lecture is an exposure of some of the inconsistencies and fallacies of "Positivism."

"We contemplate the material world with its laws in operation, a magnificent spectacle of moving forces—an organic whole, shining through its own intrinsic glory of never-ceasing development. If we turn and pursue the reverse road, and trace evolution back to its elementary principles, we may dissolve worlds into primordial force, or we may, as Professor Tyndall suggested at Liverpool, find the All in a fiery cloud occupying space. Then comes the complex question, What beyond? What before? Whence and how produced? A Positivist thinker may return one of two answers. He may either say, 'We do not know,' or he may say, 'Nothing can be known.' Take the least negative first, as we proposed. It surely deserves this rejoinder:—If you plead ignorance, but surmise that knowledge is possible, you ought not, for reasons valid with every true lover of wisdom, to stop here. But, if the second answer be the true one—if the teaching of Positivism is that nothing more can be known, let us be told so in plain words. Let no one be charmed with the Positive circle by false allurements; for, of all vices, treachery and hypocrisy are the most cowardly."

The ablest point of this lecture, its central argument, indeed, is its vindication of freedom to man. Very finely does the lecturer point out that "impulsive activity" is the typical manifestation of animal life, and "directness of action" its highest form; but that "this directness of action is not the thing most marked in our own proper human existence. What is really marked is the exact reverse. The more truly human any action appears the further is it away from resemblance to that animal characteristic." Mr. Jackson insists that "the act of will is taken [in man] out of the direct line of inevitable tendency away from the physico-mechanical series, and enabled to

* *Materialistic Theories.* By the Most Reverend the LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTEBURY.—*Science and Revelation.*—By R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, late Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford.—*Positivism.* By the Rev. W. JACKSON, M.A., F.S.A. Lectures delivered in connection with the Christian Evidence Society. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

"commence a series of its own." On this depends the fact of responsibility.

"If, then, this law be established, we have proved our point. Just as we recognise a material world by mechanical law and, indeed, our knowledge of matter itself is only a knowledge of its laws—so in like manner, and *pari passu*, we recognise a moral world by its distinctive law. We live, therefore, not in one world but in two:

"Man is one world, and bath
Another to attend him."

What now is the precise value of these arguments? or rather, what is the value of that moral and spiritual consciousness, the phenomena of which these arguments aim to interpret? We do not think that value can be estimated solely by the scientific standard. Absolutely convincing these arguments are not. Dr. Payne Smith admirably describes the case between religious belief and unbelief.

"There are difficulties in the way of faith. However new may be the form of the attack, and however modern the material which it uses, yet the strength of the attack lies in real difficulties, which are no new matter but have ever lain deep in the minds of thoughtful men. I do not believe that belief is a thing easy of attainment any more than virtue is. I believe that both are victories gained by a struggle, gained over opposing forces. But as certain as I am that this present state of things was intended to train man to virtue, though I cannot answer all the objections brought against the system of the world being exactly what it is, nor solve all the doubts and difficulties, moral and metaphysical, which surround us; so I am convinced, in spite of similar difficulties in the way of religion, that belief and not unbelief is the end at which man ought to aim."

Professor Huxley tells us what is the practical value of the arguments; when contrasting the religious, or as he calls it, the "anthropomorphic," with the physical view of the universe, he says:—"Some, among whom I count myself, think that the battle will for ever remain a drawn one, and that, for all practical purposes, this result is as good as anthropomorphism winning the day." It is, after all, the man himself on whom is dependent the precise value he attaches to arguments for faith. Faith itself thrown into the scale turns the beam. This, however, may be said, if these arguments be unsound, the universe is a delusion and knowledge is impossible. The only scepticism that can successfully attack them is that which doubts the veracity of consciousness. And such doubt is impossible of continuance; the necessity of thought, the necessity of action, recovers to sanity the mind that for a moment may seem to itself to be taking this awful plunge.

ACROSS COUNTRY FROM CHINA TO EUROPE.*

Mr. Whyte having a constitutional aversion to sea-voyages, preferred travelling home from Canton by an overland route through the plains of Mongolia and Siberia and Russia. Such a journey is not often undertaken, and is worth relating. The journey across country, over the barren and desolate steppes of Asia, and the scarcely less wild regions of European Russia, occupied nearly three months, from October, 1869, to January, 1870. During this part of the year, the cold is intense in the Mongolian and Siberian plains, and the travellers (for Mr. Whyte was accompanied by an American gentleman) were exposed most of the time to a temperature ranging from zero to 40°, or even 50°, below. They seem to have met with much kindness and hospitality from the Russian consuls and merchants whom they encountered, and Mr. Whyte speaks of the Mongolians, especially those far removed from civilised settlements, as a kindly, innocent race of people, very unlike the civilised or uncivilised barbarians whom they found at the extremes of their Asiatic transit. The journey through Siberia and Russia is very hastily sketched: we should have been glad to hear more of those parts inhabited largely by Polish and other exiles. Mr. Whyte gives two maps to indicate his route. But it is evident that the maps were not made for the book, for scarcely one out of ten of the places which he names are to be found in the maps, so that only a general notion of the direction taken can be gained by consulting the maps. Mr. Whyte speaks in terms of bitter condemnation of the want of energy and hospitality shewn to English travellers by the Government agents and consuls in different parts of China, and lays on our Government the blame of all the murders lately perpetrated at Tientsin. He thinks that a war with China, "brought on by the selfish policy of the English Government" is inevitable sooner or later. It is easy to see a strong tendency to exaggeration in Mr. Whyte's remarks. Indeed his irritation occasionally leads him to the use of language that is obviously rabid and irrational. For instance, as a climax to his complaints of the "wretched mean policy of our rulers," he adds, "one can hardly under-

"stand even Germany so disgracing herself";—a foolish taunt that betrays an utterly perverted judgment. It is doubtless necessary that British subjects should be protected from injury in their lawful pursuits, and that the highways of commerce in the East should be kept safe. But we know how liable our countrymen are to extend the permitted inch to the prohibited ell, and to look upon all interference by Oriental Governments as hostile and aggressive. As soon as they are thwarted they expect the whole force of the British nation to burst into violent outbreak in order to defend them. Mr. Whyte seems to us the partisan of these aggressive Englishmen, and ready to censure officials of his own country without any limitation or reserve. We also think that, judging by his own account of his own doings, he was not always a creditable representative of English temperance and sobriety. He is halting in the Mongolian desert, and receives some visitors from a neighbouring camp. This is the style in which he received them:—

"We had a flask with us, out of which we gave a little brandy to the people we visited. When we proceeded to our encampment we were accompanied by the whole tribe, and as we were not going to move for another three hours we invited the male portion into our tent, and produced two bottles of whisky, a recklessness of extravagance which we repented before long. Most of them would only taste a small quantity, but two old fellows, Lamas, I regret to say, we egged on, plying them with the liquid, which they drank off. They drank a bottle of pure spirit between them, at least. As the fumes mounted to their brains, they sang and yelled frantically. I shall never forget it, and how we laughed. At last, however, the bottles being empty, the sons of these two very drunk old Lamas got them up, and we could hear them shouting away as they reeled home. I am afraid the next day's headache must have made them curse our memory. Our Lamas seemed very much scandalised, but I had seen them also quietly partake of a drop when they thought we were not looking."—P. 116.

We think that any one who could amuse himself in such a disgusting and brutal way will hardly be accepted as a competent witness regarding the courtesy and gentlemanly qualities of the officials of British Legations abroad. Mr. Whyte advises travellers who are inclined to follow in his wake to take a sufficiency of wine and spirits, and expresses sincere regret that he himself took so little. Indeed, the penitence for "reckless extravagance" alluded to in the passage we have just quoted referred apparently to the short commons left for themselves rather than to the morality of the sport in which they were engaged. Yet he himself repeatedly affirms as the result of his experience that hot tea and oil is a much better protection against cold than wines and spirits.

Mr. Whyte occasionally indulges in sentimental laments over the anticipated advance of civilisation among these unspoiled children of the desert; and yet he does his best, or worst, to introduce among them one of the most pernicious vices of civilisation, and the one which infallibly brings in its train all the others. We trust he will show more self-respect, and more regard for British honour and reputation, when he next makes a pilgrimage among the unsophisticated children of nature.

Another equally exhilarating joke which our traveller perpetrated was to give a mouthful of Cayenne pepper to an old Mongol who clamoured for spirits. "The effect," he says, "was instantaneous; for, with a howl, he jumped on his horse, and we nearly died with laughter as we saw him wheeling and 'whooping away in the distance'—a trick for which a schoolboy would be very properly flogged, and which a police magistrate would probably punish by a pretty severe fine or a week's imprisonment.

We think it only right to protest against these flagrant violations of good manners, to give them no worse name. It is impossible to calculate the damage done to the English name by travellers who indulge in these coarse and foolish tricks, and then, forsooth! complain that British interests are unprotected abroad, and that Englishmen are liable to be roughly handled by the native authorities of the countries where they play off their fantastic antics.

Making these deductions from the value of Mr. Whyte's account of his travels, we are glad to be able to commend the book as a whole. The narrative is lively and brisk, and the descriptions of men and things generally graphic and instructive. We cannot say that we are tempted to take a similar route. Mr. Whyte thinks that a railway ought to be constructed to convey merchandise from China to Europe, and to promote commerce between intermediate countries. Till this is completed we think most travellers will continue to prefer the risks of sea sickness and the other inconveniences of a sea voyage, rather than a cart and sledge journey in an atmosphere cold enough to freeze mercury and demanding constant precautions to prevent the tip of your nose from falling off, and the incon-

venience of leaving your toes in your boots when you take them off.

REVISION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.*

The work of revising the Authorised Version of the Scriptures is of such immense importance to the highest interests of religious truth that any competent man who helps to instruct the public mind as to its necessity and value is doing good service. Despite the general agreement of all whose judgment on such a point is entitled to respect, not only that revision ought to be undertaken but that it cannot be safely or wisely delayed, there is a large amount of prejudice against it that requires to be overcome. Some are afraid that the effect of any change will be to create a feeling of uncertainty which will be favourable to scepticism. Others are alarmed for some favourite dogma, the evidence for which they fear may be weakened by a new reading of some texts on which it mainly depends. Others, with a more laudable feeling of attachment to the beautiful and familiar words of a version, which is the noblest production of our national literature, shrink from any change that would materially affect its character. Thus, as usual, there are strong Conservative forces which seek to impede a great reform, and expediency, prejudice, bigotry and sentiment set themselves in opposition to truth. That the opposition will be ultimately overcome we do not doubt, but as much of it proceeds from ignorance, it is important that those who have studied the question should do their best to allay groundless fears and to vindicate the wisdom of those who are seeking the change. It will be something if those who are afraid of changes so wide and sweeping that they will efface all that is distinctive of our present version can be made to understand that great improvements can be made, and the translation made as far as possible a faithful reproduction of the original while yet all its characteristic features are preserved. To those who love their own notions better than truth, who are content to go on establishing some cherished notions by means of texts which really have no place in the Bible at all, who, while professing to believe in the Book and love it, are yet unwilling that the world should know what it actually teaches, and would have it go on from age to age accepting as God's word that which is not part of His word at all, and, after all, claim credit for their reverence for Divine Revelation, there is really nothing that can be said. Of all people none should be so anxious for an accurate version as those who believe that every word in the Bible came direct from God, and contains infallible truth; yet, strange to say, it is just from them that opposition often proceeds.

Dr. Lightfoot has written the little treatise before us, partly in order to disarm this antagonism, partly to vindicate the lines along which a wise revision must proceed. Few men are better fitted to deal with the subject by high culture, strong interest in the work, and his general tone and habit of mind. He cannot be suspected of any destructive or revolutionary tendencies, or even of an insensibility to those proper Conservative influences, which would lead a man to cherish a proper respect for the past, even while advocating needful reforms, and to preserve all that can possibly be retained of that which for centuries has commanded so much veneration. To his eminence as a Biblical critic it is hardly necessary that we should bear our testimony. He is, in fact, just one of those men who seem peculiarly fitted for the work of revision, and whose presence in the Commission inspires confidence as to the results of its labours. His general views as to the principles on which the revision should be conducted, ought to allay any needless alarm. His arguments and illustrations to establish the necessity for it are unanswerable. He seeks to quiet the panic into which some have been thrown by reminding them that, after the work is done, it will depend for its acceptance upon its intrinsic merit, that even Convocation, which appointed the Commission, is no more bound to endorse its version than any Nonconformist Church, that, in fact, the whole movement is tentative, and that it will be time enough to condemn it when its actual results appear and are found to be objectionable. The parallel which he institutes between the history of Jerome's Latin Bible, that of the Authorised Version, and that of the proposed revision, is exceedingly suggestive. Its points are brought out with great skill, and are full at once of encouragement and instruction. Jerome's work was begun amid great misgivings on the part of many, his determination to translate direct from the original

* On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D. (London: Macmillan and Co.)
The Revision of the New Testament. By G. S. BARRETT, B.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

* A Land Journey from Asia to Europe. By W. A. WHITE (F.R.G.S. (London: Sampson Low and Co.)

Hebrew text instead of simply preparing a Latin version of the Greek translation by the Septuagint, exciting strong suspicion, in which even a man so distinguished as Augustine shared. At first his work was treated with neglect, and it was only by "little and little" that it was able to assert its position. But it is now the book used in the Latin Churches, and the difficulty is to understand the difficulties which it had to encounter. So with our own version, for history has a strange habit of repeating itself, especially in the exhibition of human prejudice, and now once more, amid the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, men are starting objections just as weak and foolish, indicating just as much distrust of light and truth, just as inconsistent with professed faith in the Word of God, as those which were taken to Jerome's noble work. We hope the parallel will be followed out to its close, and that the revision, when accomplished, will be found to be so complete, so impartial, and so thoroughly trustworthy, as to secure a general welcome.

The question of the various readings in the text is, of course, the most delicate and difficult in connection with the work. Dr. Lightfoot has dealt with it with extreme wisdom, and if anything can do it, his careful and judicious remarks will remove the unworthy fear which some have in relation to it. He very properly disclaims all idea of being influenced in the decision on particular readings by any view of consequences. The question, as he truly says, is one not of policy, but of truth; and it is not easy to comprehend how any lover of the Bible can desire to retain in it anything that can be shown not to have been in the original manuscript. Still he meets the alarmists on their own ground, by showing them how little reason they have to be disturbed, and especially by pointing out the Conservative influence of a sound textual criticism. "Altogether, the instances in which doctrine is directly or indirectly involved are very few; and though the individual texts might be altered, the balance of doctrinal statement would probably not be disturbed by the total result, a change in one direction being compensated by a change in the other. Thus, for instance, if the reading 'God was manifest in the flesh' should have 'to give place to 'Who was manifest in the flesh,' 1 Tim. iii. 16, and retire to the margin; yet, on the other hand, the 'Only-begotten' 'God' would seem to have equal or superior claims to the 'Only-begotten Son' in John i. 18, and must either supersede it, or claim a 'place side by side with it.' It looks like condescension to an infirmity when we are forced thus to argue for what it might be supposed could require no argument at all; and yet it is wise thus to show how absurd is the panic to which some have yielded, as well as the premature jubilation in which another class are disposed to indulge. Among the passages in which change must be made, none is more certainly marked out than the celebrated one of the three witnesses in the First Epistle of John. Dr. Lightfoot's mode of treating it is so admirable, that we quote it at length:—

"Let us then first of all set it down as an unmixed gain that we shall rid ourselves of an alliance which is a constant source of weakness and perplexity to us. No more serious damage can be done to a true cause than by summoning in its defence a witness who is justly suspected or manifestly perjured. Yet this is exactly the attitude which the verse relating to the heavenly witnesses (1 John v. 7) bears towards the great doctrine which it proclaims, so long as it retains a place in the Bible which we put into the hands of the people. Shortly after the question of revision was first mooted, an article on the subject appeared in a popular daily paper, in which the writer, taking occasion to refer to this verse, committed himself to two statements respecting it: first, that the passage in question had done much towards promoting the belief in the doctrine which it puts forward; and secondly, that the interpolator knew well what he was about, and used very efficient means to gain his end. Now both these statements were evidently made in good faith by the writer, and would, I suppose, be accepted as true by a very large number of his readers. But those who have given any special attention to the subject know that neither will bear examination. The first contradicts the plain facts of history; the second militates against the most probable inference of criticism. As regards the first point, it seems unquestionable that the doctrine was formally defined and firmly established some time before the interpolation appeared. A study of history shows that the Church arrived at the Catholic statement of the doctrine of the Trinity partly because it was indicated in other passages of the New Testament (e.g., Matt. xxviii. 19, 2 Cor. xiii. 14), and partly because it was the only statement which, recognising the fact of the incarnation of the Divine Word, was found at once to satisfy the instincts of a devout belief and the requirements of a true philosophy; and that the text in question had not, and could not have anything to do with its establishment. Indeed, the very fact that it is nowhere quoted by the great controversial writers of the fourth and fifth centuries has been truly regarded as the strongest evidence against its genuineness. And in more recent times, when the doctrine began to be challenged the text was challenged also, so that at this stage the doctrine did not gain but lose by the advocacy of a witness whose questionable character threw discredit upon it. Again, the second statement

equally breaks down when investigated. Textual criticism shows that the clause containing the three heavenly witnesses was not in the first instance a deliberate forgery but a comparatively innocent gloss which put a directly theological interpretation on the three genuine witnesses of St. John, the spirit and the water and the blood, a gloss which is given substantially by St. Augustine, and was indicated before by Origen and Cyprian, and which first thrusts itself into the text in some Latin MS., where it betrays its origin not only by its varieties of form but also by the fact that it occurs sometimes before and sometimes after the mention of the three genuine witnesses which it was intended to explain. Thus, both these statements alike break down, and we see no ground for placing this memorable verse in the same category with such fictions as the False Decretals, whether we regard its origin or its result; for unlike them it was not a deliberate forgery, and unlike them also it did not create a dogma. I only quote this criticism to show how much prejudice may be raised against the truth by the retention of interpolations like this; nor can we hold ourselves free from blame, if such statements are made and accepted so long as we take no steps to eject from our Bibles an intrusive passage, against which external and internal evidence alike have pronounced a decisive verdict. In this instance our later English Bibles have retrograded from the more truthful position of the earlier. In Tyndale's, Coverdale's, and Cranmer's Bibles the spurious words are placed in brackets and printed in a different type, and thus attention is directed to their suspicious character. In Luther's German translation (in its original form) as also in the Zurich Latin Bible in 1543 they were omitted. In the Geneva Testament first, so far as I am aware, and in the Bishop's Bible after it, the example was set, which the translators of our Authorized Version unhappily followed, of disposing with these marks of doubtful genuineness and printing the passage uniformly with the context."

We have not space to enter into the long list of passages in which our author has pointed out the necessity for some change. We have numerous instances of artificial distinctions which the translators create, and of real ones which they ignore, of faults in grammar and others in lexicography, of anomalies, inconsistent and misleading treatment of proper names, official titles, and of archaism and errors in the English. His case is fully made out, and it is impossible not to see the immense improvement which wise and scholarly treatment may effect. A Dissenting minister a short time ago, told his congregation that the Greek and Hebrew scholarship of to-day is no better than it was when the present version was made. If he will carefully study Mr. Lightfoot's book, he will see reason to alter his opinion. Whether our author is right in his idea that such scholarship has reached the highest point it is ever likely to attain amongst us, we do not profess to determine, but it certainly never before approached the excellence it has at present. While this is favourable to revision on the one hand, on the other the state of feeling among scholars as to our own language, will prevent the changes which might have been made half a century ago. The love of Latinisms has happily passed away, a purer taste has been created, and many expressions would now be retained that would then have been rejected, and any revised version will thus certainly preserve more of the character of the present one. The liberality of spirit with which Canon Lightfoot writes, and which is only representative of the feeling that prevails among the Revisers, is a happy augury.

Among the brief and popular writings on the subject, we have seen none more complete, more scholarly, and more admirably arranged than Mr. Barrot's. It is a capital digest of arguments and facts, and should be read by all who desire to have an intelligent view of the subject.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Primeval Man Unveiled; or, the Anthropology of the Bible. (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1871.) We have had so many books and articles lately brought under notice bearing on Darwinianism, that we at first supposed, judging from the title of this book, that we had here another contribution to the same region of speculation. This work, however, has a very different object. It is an expansion of a book published nearly thirteen years ago, called, "The Stars and the Angels," and is an attempt to resolve many of the problems connected with the creation of men, angels, and devils by the help of the Bible. We cannot say we look upon such efforts in a hopeful way. The Bible has very direct moral and spiritual aims, and the attempt to elicit a cosmogony or anthropology out of it gives us an impression like trying to make a gun shoot round the corner. We are bound, nevertheless, to say that this book is very ingenious, very ably written—not at all favourable, as we at first expected, to narrow and mechanical views of Scripture authorities, extremely sensible in its views of the laws of nature and miracles, stored with a considerable amount of curious, almost forgotten, lore; likely to be very much valued by a large class of readers who indulge in speculations as to the origin of life, and look to the Bible for help in their speculations; disfigured indeed by some crude notions about atonement by substitution, which we fondly believe will not survive another generation, and showing a little of that tendency which our sweet and enlightened censor, Mr. Matthew Arnold (we wince as we write his

name, feeling as if the smart of his last caning still makes us uncomfortable in our seat) calls the habit of describing the ways of God as minutely as those of the man in the next street. To our own mind, the vast problems which our author proposes for solution remain still looming over us, as huge and immovable as before.

Sermons by Charles Wadsworth, Minister of Calvary Church, San Francisco. (London: Dickinson.) These sermons were "published at the request of personal friends who desired to possess in permanent form 'some of the ordinary miscellaneous discourses delivered from their pulpit.'" We most heartily congratulate those friends who are privileged to listen usually to such discourses as these, and we thank them for securing the publication of the volume, so that a wider circle than that of Mr. Wadsworth's congregation may receive the instruction and stimulus which the sermons so abundantly supply. The pulpit will certainly not lose any of its power as long as it sends forth such discourses as these.

A Parisian Family. By Madame GUIZOT DE WITT. (Sampson Low.) *Fiji and the Fijians: Missionary Labours among the Cannibals.* By JAMES CALVERT. (Hodder and Stoughton.) *Home and Church: Family Life in Old Maze Pond.* By Rev. C. STANFORD. (Hodder and Stoughton.) *Drifted and Sifted. A Domestic Story of the Seventeenth Century.* (W. P. Nimmo.) These have been on our table some length of time, and we can now only reproduce their titles for the information of our readers.

Miscellaneous.

Ships arriving in the Mersey report the existence of immense fields of ice near Newfoundland.

From the published division list on the Permissive Bill, it appears that the majority against the measure was 72, and not 82, as originally stated. The question, as in previous years, was voted upon independently of party considerations.

The *Morning Post* says it is not the intention of the Postmaster-General to insist upon the regulation forbidding the keepers of receiving-houses from purchasing postage-stamps, which was to come into force on the 1st of July.

The remains of Sir John Herschel were on Friday interred in Westminster Abbey. The grave is close to that of Sir Isaac Newton, at the extreme east end of the nave.

Prince Arthur sustained rather a severe accident on Friday by falling out of one of the unfastened windows of the billiard-room at Buckingham Palace, against which he was leaning. His Royal Highness was stunned, but not seriously hurt, by the fall. A late bulletin says that the Prince is very much better, and out of bed. The swelling in his head has entirely disappeared, and his foot is rapidly getting well; nothing now required but perfect rest.

Mr. Gladstone, replying to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, says the Government are very sensible of the importance which attaches to all steps respecting the education question, and when the session is farther advanced, and more time is at their disposal, will be happy to receive a deputation.

The bill for the incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine with the German Empire was read a second time in the North German Parliament on Saturday.

Mr. Sumner has made an elaborate attack upon the Anglo-American Treaty. He deems the concessions made by England "inadequate," and objects to any recognition of English claims by the United States. He is, however, apparently sensible of the weakness of his following, as he does not propose to take any steps to prevent the ratification of the treaty.

The friends of the Permissive Bill held a meeting on Wednesday afternoon immediately after the division in the House of Commons, and after thanking Sir Wilfrid Lawson for his advocacy of their measure, passed the following resolution:—"That the result of the division this day is accepted by this conference as most gratifying evidence of the steady and solid growth of the Parliamentary sentiment in favour of the Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill, and a presage of its assured success; while the adverse majority supplies an incitement to more vigorous exertions by the friends of the Alliance in all parts of the United Kingdom, in order that the action of the House of Commons may more speedily respond to the just demands of the people, and to the necessity, as urgent as ever, for the only legislation that can give to the nation a means of deliverance from its heaviest curse."

The first of a series of meetings held under the auspices of the Labour Representation League, "for the purpose of affording an opportunity for the leading representative working men to interchange opinions with members of Parliament and other gentlemen on the leading questions of the day affecting the social and political well-being of the people," took place on Wednesday night in London, when the subject for discussion was the Ballot Bill now before Parliament. The meeting was well attended, and Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens, M.P., occupied the chair. The chairman, in opening the proceedings, explained the object with which these meetings were held, and expressed his pleasure at meeting so many of the representatives of the working classes. Mr. R. Latham, president of the League, then read

a paper on the ballot, and its necessity to secure perfect freedom of election, and moved a resolution expressive of approval of the Elections by Ballot Bill, as being well calculated to secure the ends it has in view. Mr. J. G. Holyoake, seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. R. Torrens, M.P., Mr. George Potter, and others, and adopted with one dissentient.

NOTICE.—All announcements intended for this column must be accompanied by a remittance of half-a-crown in postage stamps.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTH.

MIRAMS.—Feb. 15, at — Castle-street, Dunedin, New Zealand, the wife of S. H. Mirams, C.E., of a son.

MARRIAGE.

MEDWIN—KING—May 17, at the Congregational Chapel, Claylands-road, by the Rev. John Foster, assisted by the Rev. Robert Berry, of York-road, John Wilson, third son of Mr. Mathias Medwin, of Tulce-hill, to Anna Maria, eldest daughter of Mr. William B. King, of Kennington Oval. This being the first marriage celebrated in the chapel, a handsome family Bible was presented to the newly married couple by the senior deacon on behalf of the congregation.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, May 17.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued £38,321,915 Government Debt. £11,015,100
Other Securities .. 3,984,900
Gold Coin & Bullion 23,321,915
Silver Bullion

£38,321,915 £38,321,915

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietor's Capital £14,553,000 Government Securities .. 3,130,493
Reserve .. 3,130,493 Dividends, (inc. dead weight annuity) .. £12,958,741
Public Deposits .. 8,325,512 Other Securities .. 18,037,158
Other Deposits .. 19,210,147 Notes .. 14,019,255
Seven Day and other Bills .. 551,119 Gold & Silver Coin .. 755,122

£45,770,271 £45,770,271

May 18, 1871.

GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

BREAKFAST.—EPPS'S COCOA.—GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING.—"By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected cocoa, Mr. Epps has provided our breakfast-tables with a delicately-flavoured beverage which may save us many heavy doctors' bills."—Civil Service Gazette. Made simply with Boiling Water or Milk. Each packet is labelled—"James Epps & Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, London." Also, makers of Epps's Cacaoine, a very thin beverage for evening use.

How to Dye.—Silk, Wool, Feathers, Ribbons, &c., in ten minutes, without soiling the hands. Use Judson's Simple Dyes, eighteen colours, 6d. each, with full instructions supplied. Of all chemists. The Family Herald, 3rd September, says, "A very slight acquaintance with Judson's dyes will render their application clear to all."

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Constant Success.—No diseases are more trying to the temper or more exhausting to the constitution than the pains in the muscles and joints caused by exposure to wet or cold. Wherever the seat of suffering, it will only be necessary to foment the affected part with warm water, dry thoroughly, and immediately rub in Holloway's inestimable Ointment to obtain ease. Gout, rheumatism, neuralgia, and tic-doloureux are soon relieved, and ultimately cured by the use of this unequalled unguent, aided by Holloway's purifying and aperient pills. Whenever persons subject to gout, or rheumatic gout, feel unusually nervous, weak, exhausted, or out of sorts, they should instantly resort to this treatment, which will avert the threatened attack.

KINAHAN'S LL WHISKY.—This celebrated and most delicious old mellow spirit is the very cream of Irish Whiskies, in quality unrivalled, perfectly pure, and more wholesome than the finest Cognac Brandy. Note the words "Kinahan's LL Whisky" or seal, label, and cork. Wholesale Depot, 6A, G at Titchfield-street, Oxford-street, W.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, May 22.

The fresh supplies were moderate for to-day's market of English as well as foreign wheat. We had a quiet market, the warmer weather causing buyers to restrict purchases. English wheat was steady in value at the prices of Monday last, and the business doing in foreign wheat was likewise at former quotations. Flour was without change in value. Peas and beans sold at previous prices. Barley and maize maintained former values. Of oats the arrivals are moderate. The trade was less depressed, and the prices of last week were more readily obtained. Several arrivals have been reported off the coast. Business has as yet been restricted, and prices remain the same as last week.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, May 22.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 21,223 head. In the corresponding week in 1870 we received 8,961; in 1869, 19,246; in 1868, 6,166; and in 1867, 12,491 head. There has been want of animation in the cattle trade to-day, and prices have had a drooping tendency, owing to the warm weather and to increased supplies. A fair number of beasts has come to hand from our own grazing districts, but the receipts from abroad have been hardly so extensive. The inquiry has been limited, and last Monday's prices have been with difficulty maintained. For the best Scots and crosses the extreme quotation has been 5s. 6d., the general being 5s. 6d. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received about 1,250 Scots and crosses; from other parts of England about 250 various breeds; and from Scotland about 261 Scots and crosses. With sheep the market has been heavily supplied. Business has progressed heavily, and a decline of 4d. per 8lbs. has taken place. The best Downs and half-breeds have been disposed of at 5s. 10d. to 6s. per 8lbs. For lambs the demand has been inactive, at from 6s. to 7s. 6d. per 8lbs. Transactions

in Calves have been on a limited scale, at drooping prices. Pigs have been dull, but unaltered in value.

Per 8lbs., to sink the offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inf. coarse beasts	3	4	to	4	Pr. coarse woolled	5	4	5	8
Second quality	4	6	to	4	Prime Southdown	5	10	6	0
Prime large oxen	5	0	5	4	Lge. coarse calves	3	8	4	4
Prime Scots	5	6	5	8	Prime small	5	0	5	6
Coarse inf. sheep	3	2	3	6	Large hogs	3	6	4	0
Second quality	3	8	4	6	Neat sm. porkers	4	6	5	4
Lamb, 6s. to 7s. 6d., and Quarter old store pigs, 20s. to 26s. each.									

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, May 22.—The supplies of meat has been extensive. The trade has been dull, and prices have had a drooping tendency. The import into London last week consisted of 5 packages from Harlingen, and 941 from Hamburg.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior beef	3	8	to	4	Middling do.	4	6	to	4
Middling do.	4	0	to	4	Prime do.	5	2	to	5
Prime large do.	4	10	to	5	Large pork	3	8	to	4
Prime small do.	5	0	to	5	Small do.	4	8	to	5
Veal	5	0	to	5	Lamb	6	0	to	7
Inferior Mutton	3	10	to	4					

PROVISIONS, Monday, May 22.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 181 firkins butter and 3,675 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 24,780 packages butter, 714 bales and 50 boxes bacon. There is a very limited demand for Irish butter, without change in value. Dutch butter has declined to 102s. to 104s.; the supplies of Normandy being only about equal to the demand, former prices were maintained. In the bacon market there has been a good deal more business transacted at various prices, according to quality, condition, &c.; best Waterford orders charged 66s. on board, and the market closed firm.

COVENT GARDEN MARKET, Friday, May 19.—We have had a somewhat thinner attendance of growers during the past week, which has made the supply fall shorter than usual, though prices have been very little influenced by it. Forced fruits are in fair demand, comprising pines, grapes, pears, peaches, nectarines, melons, and cherries. Amongst the latest importations we have natural strawberries from France, green peas, asparagus, French beans, young carrots, and turnips. The trade in old potatoes is very sluggish. New potatoes are coming in rather plentifully from Malta, Lisbon, and the Channel Islands, at moderate prices.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, May 22.—The markets are well supplied with potatoes. The trade is quiet, at our quotations. The import into London last week consisted of 7,135 boxes from Lisbon and 191 barrels from Malta. English Shaws (old), 40s. to 60s. per ton; English Regents, 45s. to 70s. per ton; Scotch Regents, 40s. to 60s. per ton; Rocks, 45s. to 55s. per ton; Lisbon (new), 8s. to 11s. per cwt.; Jersey, 12s. to 14s.; Kidneys, 16s. to 20s.

HOPS.—BOROUGH, Monday, May 22.—The transaction in our market during the past week have been considerable, and a general improvement in value has been made from 5s. to 6s. per cwt.; to-day the trade is again active, and extreme rates prevail. This important movement in our market is fully justified by the bad appearance of the plant, the bine being slight and severely affected by both flea and fly, and has scarcely ever at so early a period of the year presented so bad an appearance. Foreign markets are very firm. Latest advices from New York report an extremely dull market. Mid and East Kent, 21s. 6s., 31s. 15s., to 71s. 7s.; Weald of Kent, 21s. 6s., 31s. 15s.; Sussex, 21s. 10s., to 31s. 10s.; Farnham and country, 31s. 15s., 41s. 15s., to 51s. 12s.; Olds, 11s. 11s., to 11s. 15s.

SEED, Monday, May 22.—There was nothing passing in English cloverseed. Stocks are very low, and prices nominal. There are inquiries for the best American; such would command 50s. per cwt. to hold over, but the importers ask more for choice qualities. Trefoil is not yet low enough for any investment to be made in that article; a few shillings decline would bring forward buyers of the finest samples. English canaryseed supported previous rates, with a fair demand, but not much doing in foreign qualities, which were offered very low. White mustardseed sells steadily for sowing purposes, but there is no demand for brown samples.

WOOL, Monday, May 22.—The wool market has presented a steady appearance; a good business has been transacted in all descriptions, and extreme prices have been realised, especially for choice wethers.

OIL, Monday, May 22.—Linseed oil is dull and drooping. Rape has changed hand quietly, and prices have been unsettled. For other oils there has been but little inquiry.

TALLOW, Monday, May 22.—The market is firmer. Y.C., spot, 43s. 6d. per cwt. Town tallow, 41s. per cwt. net cash.

COAL, Monday, May 22.—Market heavy, at last day's sales. Hettons Walstead, 17s. 6d.; South Hettons, 14s.; Hettons Lyons, 15s.; Hartlepool Original, 17s. 6d.; ditto, 16s. 6d.; Hawthorn, 14s. 9d.; Hartley's, 16s. 6d.; Tees, 17s. 3d. Ships fresh arrived, 22. Ships left from last day, 2. Ships at sea, 15.

Advertisements.

WANTED, after Midsummer, by a GRADUATE (London), a RE-ENGAGEMENT as ASSISTANT-MASTER in a Private School.—Address, B. A., Eversfield Library, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.

LODGINGS for a GENTLEMAN in a quiet household, the house having a large garden attached.—Inquire at the Tract Depository, 3, Streatham-place, Brixton Hill.

THREATENED REPEAL of SABBATH LAW.

The Motion of Mr. P. A. TAYLOR, M.P. for Leicester, for the repeal of the Act 29 Ch. ii. c. 7, and the consequent general legalisation of trade and labour on the Lord's-day, is postponed till June 13. The country should at once declare its opposition to this measure by Petitions to Parliament and letters to individual members.

Forms of Petition, with all necessary information, can be had at the Office of the Lord's-day Observance Society, 20, John-street, Adelphi, W.C.

The temporal and spiritual welfare of all classes of society, and of the poor specially, are threatened by Mr. Taylor, and should be defended by all those who love their neighbour and their God.

(By order) JOHN GRITTON.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY'S EXECUTIVE.

The following is the LIST of the OFFICERS and EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the LIBERATION SOCIETY, appointed at the recent Triennial Conference. The name of Mr. Neville Goodman, M.A., of Cambridge, has been substituted for that of Mr. Mander, of Wolverhampton, who is unable to act:—

TREASURER—Mr. Wm. Edwards.

AUDITORS.

Mr. T. A. Bowser, Mr. Thos. Box, and Mr. J. F. Bontems.

LONDON MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE.

Mr. Henry M. Bompas. Mr. W. W. Pocock.
Mr. J. F. Bottomley. Mr. George Potter.
Rev. George W. Conder. Mr. Henry Richard, M.P.
Mr. Philip Crellin. Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A.
Mr. William Edwards. Mr. Herbert S. Skeats.
Mr. H. R. Ellington. Rev. Robert Spears.
Mr. Charles H. Elt. Mr. J. Templeton, F.R.G.S.
Mr. Alfred H. Haggis. Mr. T. C. Turberville.
Mr. H. S. Leonard. Rev. Edward White.
Mr. Edward Miall, M.P. Mr. G. C. Whiteley.
Mr. Charles S. Miall. Mr. J. Carvell Williams.
Mr. W. H. Michael. Rev. J. S. Withington.
Rev. Walter Morrison, B.A.

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Children eligible from any part of the Kingdom. Under the immediate patronage of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of WALES and Her Imperial and Royal Highness the Crown Princess of PRUSSIA.

A Meeting of Governors and Subscribers was held on Thursday, May 18, 1871, at the City Terminus Hotel, Cannon-street, for the ELECTION of EIGHT INFANTS, two of whom to be retained until 16 years of age. Sir Sidney Hedley Waterlow, Alderman, in the chair. At the close of the ballot the following were declared to be successful:—

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1. Griffiths, Olive Louis. 799 | 2. Jones, Alice Florence. 616.

ELECTED TO CONTINUE UNTIL NINE YEARS OF AGE.

3. Bruce, Albert James. 701 | 6. Ellis, Mary Anne. 507.
4. Brown, Edmund. 616 | 7. Norwood, Earnest Hy. 505.
5. Squire, Herbert James 595 | 8. Black, John. 485.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Scrutineers terminated the proceedings.

JOSEPH SOUL, Hon. Secretary.

Office, 73, Cheapside, E.C.

This Charity is greatly embarrassed for want of funds. It is in debt. The Committee is most anxious to get rid of that debt, amounting to upwards of £9,000. Lately they had to meet an unexpected claim amounting to £2,900, reduced to £2,100, including costs, for which 21 ladies and gentlemen subscribed £100 each. The Committee cannot be too thankful to them for their kindness. It is earnestly hoped that other kind friends will come forward and render their efficient aid, so as to free the Charity from debt, and enable it to maintain the 200 infant orphans for whom accommodation is provided.

PARK CHAPEL, CROUCH-END, HORNSEY, ANNIVERSARY SERVICES.

On SUNDAY, May 28th, the Rev. HENRY SIMON will preach in the Morning at Eleven o'clock, and the Rev. JOHNSON BARKER, LL.B., in the Evening, at Half-past Six.

On the following WEDNESDAY, May 31st, the Rev. ALEXANDER RALEIGH, D.D., will preach in the Morning at Twelve o'clock, and the Rev. DONALD FRASER, M.A., in the Evening at Half-past Six.

Collections will be made at the close of each service. A cold collation will be provided at the close of the morning service, and tea at five o'clock. Tickets for Dinner, 2s. 6d.; for tea, 1s.; and for Dinner and Tea, 3s. each.

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Information respecting the Subjects of Examination, &c., may be obtained from either of the Resident Professors at the College, Whalley Range, Manchester, or from the Rev. J. H. Gwyther, B.A., Hon. Secretary, Liscard, Cheshire.

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A. H. SCOTT WHITE, Esq., B.A., Prizeman in Anglo-Saxon and Early English of Univ. Coll., London.

JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Esq., F.E.I.S., Member of the Council of the Philological Society, one of the Editors of the Publications of the Early English Text Society, Author of "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," &c., &c.

JAMES NETTLESHIP, Esq., B.A., Scholar and Prizeman of Christ's Coll., Camb.; 2nd Class Classical Tripos, 1866.
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HALF TERM will COMMENCE THURSDAY, June 19.

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